

JORDAN'S *J.S. 8132 d/2*
COMPLETE COLLECTION

OF ALL THE

ADDRESSES and SPEECHES

OF THE

Hon. C. J. Fox, Sir A. Gardner,

AND

J. H. Tooke, Esq.

AT THE LATE

Interesting Contest for Westminster.

Together with the Addresses and Resolutions of the
Committee for promoting Mr. Tooke's Election

IN THE

PARISH OF ST. JAMES'S;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR,

WITH THE

SPEECHES OF J. H. TOOKE, ESQ.

On the 28th of June, 1796.

Third Edition.

LONDON:

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1796.



THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR

WITH THE

STEECHES OF J. HATTOCK, ESQ.

ON THE 12th of June 1796

OF THE

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. HATTOCK, AND S. BARNARD, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

1796

WESTMINSTER ELECTION,

DURING THE MONTHS OF MAY AND JUNE, 1796.

THE late Parliament was dissolved on the 20th day of May, 1796.—The Election for Westminster began on Friday the 27th of May, at the usual place in Covent Garden. The Candidates were, the Right Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX—Vice-Admiral Sir ALAN GARDNER—and JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Esq.—Their several Addresses to the Electors were as follows :

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE
CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

CONSCIOUS of having faithfully discharged the important trust which, during the period of sixteen years, and three successive Parliaments, you have so honourably reposed in me, and animated by the grateful remembrance of the candour, or rather the partiality, with which you have hitherto received my feeble efforts in the public service, I venture once more to offer myself, with some degree of confidence, as a Candidate for the representation of this great and populous city.

So totally unconnected with any other Candidate, as to be enabled from public rumour only to guess, who, besides myself, is likely to solicit your suffrages, my sole pretensions to your favour rest entirely upon the uniformity with which I have adhered to the principles of that conduct which first recommended me to your notice. The part which I have taken in the various important questions agitated in the late Parliament, is too well known and understood by you to need explanation, much less apology.

That I have opposed a War, unjust in its principle, and ruinous in its consequences; that I have endeavoured to prevent innovations upon the Constitution, which tend to annihilate the Rights of the People; that I have laboured to preserve entire the security which we formerly enjoyed under the Law of

B

Treason,

Treason, as established by the statute of Edward the Third; that I have resisted the repeal of the Bill of Rights in its most essential clauses; will be matters of consolation to me to the last moment of my life.

That my efforts in this glorious cause have, in common with those of abler men, been ineffectual, I most sincerely lament; but I trust my character (whatever it may be) will not suffer either in your judgment, or in that of posterity, on account of my name being seldom, if ever, found among the majorities of a Parliament remarkable for having added more to the burthens, and taken away more from the rights of the subject, than any Parliament ever did in the annals of our history.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of regard and gratitude,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged,

*South-street,
May 21st, 1796.*

and faithful humble Servant,

C. J. FOX.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE
CITY AND LIBERTY OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

Several respectable inhabitants of the city of Westminster having expressed their desire that I should offer my services to succeed Admiral Lord Hood as one of your representatives in parliament; I find it impossible not to acquiesce in a wish so highly gratifying and honourable to myself.

I therefore presume to solicit your favour and support, to which I am conscious that I have no pretensions but an ardent zeal in the service of my king and country, a steady attachment to our excellent and happy constitution, and a determination to counteract, to the utmost of my power, the attempts of its enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

If you should be pleased to confer upon me a distinction which cannot but be highly acceptable to the feelings of a British officer, I shall hope to merit a continuance of your good opinion and confidence, by a line of public conduct strictly conformable to the principles which I have avowed, and by an invariable attention to your own immediate interests and welfare.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient

*Portland Place,
May 20th, 1796.*

and faithful humble Servant,

ALAN GARDNER.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

IT is only in times like the present, when attempts are flagitiously made to murder innocent men, that the progress of a candidate can possibly be from the Hustings to Newgate, and from Newgate back to the Hustings. The circumstance declares the times: for any man who could reasonably be even suspected of deserving what I have suffered, would be abandoned by the whole human race.

But you must be well aware, that if I had never known, or knowing, had not loved the free constitution of my country, I should not have been voted a traitor by the usurping proprietors of boroughs: who, under an insidious pretence of attachment—not to kingship, which we acknowledge; but to monarchy, which we abhor,—are endeavouring to undermine (it is not the place for me here to say how far they have undermined) the lawful government of king, lords and commons; and to substitute a tyranny of their own, under (the most odious of all forms) a temporary, elective dictator, dependent only upon their own corrupt and prostituted votes.

In the pursuit of their plan, and for the establishment of their power, they are endeavouring to seat themselves on the same throne, by the side of their sovereign; by perverting those laws of treason, which were exclusively designed to protect the person of the king and his share of the government—by perverting them, to protect equally the share which themselves have usurped.

If they can succeed in this, their next step is a short one: they will trample on him. And whenever the crown shall hereafter be awakened, and, too late perhaps, compelled to struggle with these usurpers; the most loyal adherents of royalty will be destroyed, as traitors against their new majesties: the king will have no means left to protect his most faithful subjects; and the crown may find itself without a defender.

This, this attempt of theirs, is the great master-treason against the crown, the nobility, and the whole commons of the realm.

In order the more efficaciously to resist these traitors to us all, these un-acquitted felons; or to lay down my life usefully to the public in opposition to their plunder and tyranny, I again offer myself to represent you in the ensuing parliament.

If the purpose of your election were to chuse a master, or to promote a minister, or to bestow any portion of power or emolument on the object of your choice; I should ac-

knowledge myself to be the last person who ought to present himself to your notice. But if your purpose be to appoint a servant, whose duty it is to pursue your interest, not his own; to maintain your rights, not to obtain an office for himself; to follow singly your will, independently of all parties, and all other connections; I may then with confidence offer myself, and say, that in me you shall, if you please, find

A faithful Servant,

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

At a meeting of the committee for promoting the election of John Horne Tooke, Esq. in the parish of St. James's, George Knutton, M. D. in the chair; the following address and resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

TO THE INDEPENDENT AND UNINFLUENCED ELECTORS
OF THE PARISH OF SAINT JAMES, WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

UPON a question of such importance as the election of a representative for the city and liberties of Westminster, it is impossible to suppose you can be unconcerned or indifferent.

It is your right to chuse; and the enjoyment of your liberty, and the security of your property depend upon your choice. You have seen the melancholy progression of a war, unprecedented both in principle and event. Do you wish for its continuance? You have experienced an increase of taxes, a decrease of trade, and an unexampled accumulation of political evil resulting from the late public measures: do you wish for a repetition of them? You have seen a tacit compromise of your rights as freemen, and your suffrages as electors, apparently assented to.—Do you wish to dwindle into insignificance and contempt?—If you can, as honest men, say yes,—vote for the court candidate and another campaign. If not, vote for the assertor of your rights, and by your independance stop the progress of those accumulative evils—war, taxes and corruption; which, if not speedily checked in their ruinous career, will soon leave you little to hope, and less to enjoy. We present the following resolutions for your acceptance and approbation, and upon their basis, we recommend to you JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Esq. as the faithful servant of the *City of Westminster*.

RESOLVED,

First.—It is the opinion of this committee, that the present alarming and deplorable situation of our country, is occasioned only by the very defective state of the representation in the commons' house of parliament.

Secondly.—

Secondly.—That the only practicable means of restoring to Britain peace and plenty, is by a radical reform in the representation of the Commons of this country; to promote which, it is highly requisite for those electors who have the real interest of their boasted constitution at heart, to vote for such candidates as assuredly will contribute their exertions towards so desirable an object.

Thirdly.—Knowing that John Horne Tooke, Esq. ever since the commencement of his political career, has been an inflexible and uniform advocate for such a reform; this committee deems him an eligible person to represent them in parliament, and in pursuance of that information, they will actively exert themselves in promoting his election.

Fourthly.—From a conviction of the baneful consequences arising from corrupt influence in popular election, we earnestly recommend our independent fellow parishioners, to consider well the pretensions of Mr. Horne Tooke to their support, and the honourable principles on which he offers himself as a candidate, by not endeavouring to smuggle from them their birth-right, by the corruption of their free and unbiassed suffrages.

Fifthly.—Considering the great danger in which the small portion of popular choice stood at the last general election, we esteem ourselves obliged to Mr. Horne Tooke, for his patriotic and spirited conduct in frustrating that criminal attempt, by standing forth the avowed champion, for supporting among the electors of *Westminster*, at least the shadow of the right to choose their own representatives.

Sixthly.—Being determined strictly to accord with the independent principles on which Mr. Tooke offers himself, we resolve to conduct his election in this parish, free from every other expence, except the printing and distributing of these resolutions.

May 25th, 1796,
St. James's Square.

GEORGE KNUTTON, Chairman,
J. MOODY, Secretary.

FIRST DAY.—FRIDAY, MAY 27.

At about a quarter before eleven, the candidates, and their friends ascended the hustings.

After the deputy of the high bailiff had read the precept, and the several acts of parliament, Mr. Fox was nominated by T. Scott, esq. and seconded by Mr. Harry House.

Mr. Fox expiated at some length on the ruinous tendency of the war, and the situation to which the country had been reduced by the extravagant and corrupt measures of administration. He then made an appeal to the feelings of the populace

lace on the poverty and distress which the lower orders of the people experience at this time by the obstinate perseverance of the rulers in measures which, if further persisted in, must bring utter ruin on the nation. It therefore behoved them to make choice of such persons for their representatives as they thought would exert themselves in remedying the dreadful situation into which they have been plunged. To this end, he trusted, it would be found the whole of his parliamentary endeavours had been directed; and under that idea he again came forward to offer himself a candidate for the honour of representing the populous and respectable city of Westminster in the Commons' House of Parliament. He concluded by declaring, that he was totally unconnected with either of the other candidates, and soliciting their single and unbiassed votes.

Sir Thomas Turton, Bart. then nominated Sir Alan Gardner, in a very long speech, in which he enumerated the various services performed by the Admiral.

He was seconded by Admiral Ommaney.

Sir ALAN GARDNER then addressed the populace in a few words. He said, that his pretensions to the honour of representing the city of Westminster rested on his loyalty to his Sovereign, his attachment to the constitution, and his readiness on all occasions to combat both the foreign and domestic enemies of his country.

Mr. Horne Tooke was then proposed by Felix Vaughan, Esq. and seconded by Mr. J. Sharpe.

Mr. TOOKE assured the meeting he should not take up their attention for one minute with what he had to say. It was unnecessary for him to advance a single sentence; for the worthy Baronet, who had just addressed them, had said sufficient for him, and for the other candidates beside.

The Returning Officer then declared the shew of hands to be in favour of Mr. Fox and Admiral Sir Alan Gardner, on which Mr. Tooke demanded a poll. The poll commenced at twelve o'clock.

By the act of Parliament it is provided, that the poll should continue open for seven hours, and as the nomination was not over till twelve o'clock, the election continued till seven in the evening.

The numbers being declared as follows:

For Mr. Fox	- - - - -	232
Mr. TOOKE	- - - - -	132
Sir ALAN GARDNER	- - - - -	129

The Candidates then came forward to address the electors; and, first—

Mr.

Mr. Fox, who was received with the loudest acclamations, and other tokens of regard, returned thanks for the honour they had done him, as testified by the respectable majority in his favour this day, on which he congratulated those who voted for him, and congratulated himself. He observed on the two bills which were passed the last Session of the last Parliament, and on the principles maintained by ministers in support of these bills. They had shewn an inclination to prevent all popular meetings, but they had not yet dared to attempt that of preventing the people of Westminster to meet to vote for their representatives. In speaking for himself he would alledge, that he had been often personally gratified by the favourable opinion which the electors of Westminster had testified of him.

In doing so he would venture to say this, that they favoured a man who had shewn his attachment to the constitution of this country, who loved that constitution; but when he said he loved it, he must say also it was the constitution of 1688 he loved; and in proportion as he loved that constitution did he detest the innovations that had been made upon it, and particularly the innovations in 1796. The true constitution of Great Britain was made for the freedom of the people, not for the detestable purpose of supporting the will of the executive government against the people. The fundamental principle of the constitution of Great Britain was, that every man in it should have an opportunity of freely delivering his opinion. A constitution which allowed not that privilege was the mere name of a thing, and was worth nothing, and that was the sort of constitution which ministers would force upon the people, and which they would misname as the constitution of Great Britain. These were the sentiments on which he submitted himself to the electors of Westminster in the year 1780. We were then engaged in an unfortunate war. In 1796 we were in the same situation. The cause of the American war was the lamentable subserviency of the people to the will of the crown, and therefore it was carried on. This was the cause of the war in 1780. This was the cause of the war in 1796, and the people should reflect on this. He had been asked, whether he joined either of the candidates before them? To which he would answer, he joined no candidate whatever; he asked the support of the electors for himself. He asked them to judge of him, and enquire of themselves whether he was a fit object of their choice? On the present occasion he had a respect for both his competitors. The one, a gallant Admiral who had done service to his country, and had merited esteem and honour; the other, a gentleman who had been the object of the unjust and cruel persecution of the minister, and on that account,

account, as well as others, had a claim on the feelings of his fellow citizens. But he did not think it his duty to canvas for either of them. He canvassed for himself only; and he did so on this ground; that he had served the people of this country with fidelity, with zeal, with constancy, against the government, the pretended good government of the country; but which in fact employed its means to carry on the purposes of corruption. The present was not a place to discuss all the points of which that corruption had influence. But there were two points to which he must advert—the war, and the situation of this country. We were engaged in a foreign war. The purpose of that war was, the enslaving another people, and restoring that government, the power and aim of which had always been hostilely directed against the interests of this country. With regard to our domestic politics, the power of government had been exerted to the worst of purposes—to adhere, indeed, to the letter, but to destroy the spirit of our constitution.

The object of the ministers in this war was, to support the system of foreign despots, and to teach us, if they can, to be the tame servants of domestic despots. These were the sentiments to which he called the attention of the people in 1780. These were the sentiments to which he called their attention now. These were the principles in which he had lived, and for which, he trusted, if occasion should require it, he should die. The electors would readily conceive there was no necessity for him to remind them that it was not his practice to make use of any language to gain temporary popularity. He needed no such subterfuge, nor would he use it even to gain his election, if such an artifice were necessary; for that would be paying too high a price for the highest favour. You see in me then, said he, a friend to order, a friend to peace, and a friend to good government; but I will not dissemble, for I will say at once, that, constituted as things are at this moment, there is much more danger in aiding the views of despotism than any thing that is likely to arise from the excess of popular power. I will never recede from my sentiments; I will stand, while I live, in defence of the rights of the people, and for them I will die, if necessary. Government was made for the people—not the people for government. That government is good, in proportion as it promotes the happiness, and bad, as it occasions the misery of the people.

The applause of the multitude having subsided,

Sir ALAN GARDNER addressed them in a short speech, which we heard very imperfectly, as the populace interrupted him very much with their disapprobation. We collected, however,

however, that he professed an attachment to his King and country, and to the principles of the constitution; and that his principles were too well known to need an explanation. His cause was now in the hands of the electors of Westminster. He relied on their support, and thanked them for the honour they had done him this day.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE said, that he concurred in every thing which Mr. Fox had said, and that he would by no means have stood a candidate for any place, if it had been to the exposure of the seat which Mr. Fox had held in the House of Commons. But it was for the inhabitants of Westminster to consider, whether it was worth their while to assemble together to elect two representatives, one of whom should destroy the other—The gallant Admiral, who was a stranger to the electors of Westminster, though in one respect he was sufficiently known, had made use of one phrase in his advertisement, *domestic enemies*. This phrase he thought called for some explanation, and this explanation Mr. Fox had given in his advertisement, when he described the last Parliament, as one that had taken more from the liberties, and added more to the burthens of the people of England, than any former Parliament that had ever existed. “One would suppose,” said Mr. H. Tooke, “that we had all written in concert, for I have described the authors of all the mischief to be usurping proprietors of boroughs.” Mr. Tooke then alluded to Mr. Fox’s declaration, respecting the two wars against liberty that had taken place during the present reign. For his opposition to the American, he said that he had been sentenced to a fine of 1200*l.* and to twelve months imprisonment. For the part which he had taken with respect to the present war against the liberty of France, he had undergone a close imprisonment of seven months, and had been compelled to hold up his hand as a traitor at the Old Bailey. Mr. Tooke then adverted to some late proceedings in the Courts of Justice, particularly to the sentence against Kyd Wake, a sentence which, he said, was only fit for the Judges of Hell to pronounce!

The meaning of this sentence, perhaps, the greater number of his auditors might not understand. He was to be kept to hard labour for five years; by kept, every lawyer would understand, flogged—that is to say, he was liable to be flogged every day, during these five years, by a gaoler employed for the purpose. Of such a sentence he was sure that the humanity of the gallant Admiral would never allow him to approve; he was sure, at least, that nothing less than a pension could operate as a sufficient inducement to extort his approbation to such a proceeding. Mr. Horne Tooke, in a very pointed

speech, expressed his decided approbation of the public principles avowed by Mr. Fox; and of that line of conduct which he had held; that he, however, could add nothing to what had already been said by Mr. Fox, no language but his own could do justice to his sentiments. He paid many compliments to the private worth and personal courage of Admiral Gardner. He considered him as compelled to stand in his present awkward situation by the fiat of a superior power. He trusted that ministers would be satisfied with the merit he had shown in having stood the intolerable battery to which he was now exposed, and that the personal courage of the gallant Admiral would be sufficiently gratified in having encountered the brunt of the contest, and having been rejected. "We will guard ourselves," said Mr. Tooke, "against our domestic enemies, and we will leave to the gallant Admiral to reap those laurels against our enemies abroad, which I am sure he will always merit by his professional exertions."

SECOND DAY.—SATURDAY, MAY 28.

At the close of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. FOX	- - - - -	480
Sir ALAN GARDNER	- - - - -	372
Mr. HORNE TOOKE	- - - - -	258

Mr. Fox thanked the electors; and merely added, that he regarded the polling of the day as a fresh testimony, of the electors approving his past services. He was received with unbounded applause.

Sir ALAN GARDNER then endeavoured to address the electors; but the uproar was so great, that we could not hear one word he uttered.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE addressed the electors in a very diverting manner; and observed, that, if a man was to fasten two horses to a cart, the one at the head and the other at the tail of it, and should then attempt to drive them to some particular place at a distance, their heads being in different directions, they would draw one against another: a man who acted in that manner would not be very likely to arrive soon at the end of his journey. Such would be the case of the electors if they returned Mr. Fox and Admiral Gardner; for, certain it was, they would pull in opposite directions. He said, he never would be of any party; for, in party matters a man's honour might be committed, and every man's honour ought to be in his own keeping. Should he be elected, his own conscience and the instructions, the orders, and the commands of his constituents should always be, and should only be, the

the guiders, directors, and controulers of his own conduct. However, he thought it proper to say, he did not differ from Mr. Fox in the sentiments which he had declared to the electors already. He should be glad to have the advantage of the assistance of his transcendant abilities. This was an advantage which a ministerial candidate never would ask, or, if he should ask, was not likely to have; but an advantage which Mr. Fox most probably would but seldom deny to an opposition member.

This contest, he said, as far as it had gone, had been of very great advantage to him, for it had shewn that Mr. Pitt was still his enemy, that there was no man whom he hated more. From the time when Mr. Pitt was made the dictator of this country, not by the people, but by the pretorian bands, by means which we all know, by contracts, by places, by pensions, and by bribes, it certainly was an advantage to an honest man to be marked as his enemy; although many were desirous to be thought his friends, and had received these pensions and bribes for services that deserved a halter.

The course of the poll had shewn, and would continue to shew, that he was the most hated by Mr. Pitt, and possibly most feared by him. This was his advantage. The advantage to the electors was, that they shewed, by polling for him, their independence. But a much more important advantage might arise from this election. The electors might teach to the present and to future courts a lesson, that they may discharge all means of bribery or corruption, all indirect practices from their system of government, and trust only to their own just power; for they must draw this conclusion, that if the people submit to government now, great indeed would their gratitude be if they found that the only objects which the court had in view were the liberty, prosperity, and happiness of the people.—This speech was followed by loud shouts of applause from the populace.

THIRD DAY.—MONDAY, MAY 30.

At the close of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	- - - - -	769
Sir ALAN GARDNER	- - - - -	718
Mr. HORNE TOOKE	- - - - -	559

Mr. Fox addressed the electors very concisely. He said he did not consider the event of this day's poll as any thing unfavourable to his cause. But he hoped that this would be the last day in which the state of the poll should be against him. On the general principles which he had professed already, he

had nothing new to state. They all knew the grounds on which he solicited the suffrages of the electors of Westminster, and he hoped, and trusted he should always justify the partiality which they had so often shewn to him on former occasions. He was applauded as usual.

Sir ALAN GARDNER endeavoured to address the populace, but could not obtain a hearing.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE then came forward, and said, Gentlemen, Your candidate, Sir Alan Gardner, has told you in his advertisement, and every day that he has stood before you, that he is a friend to his king and to his country. It is necessary for me also, by the state of the poll, to say that I love the king according to law; but I love my country better; for the king may be employed in chasing the harmless stag, or the timorous hare, while his ministers may be employed in the more desperate chace of running down his people. I say I love the king according to law, and whenever the king shall protect me and my fellow subjects from the murderous plots and conspiracies of his ministers, I will love him beyond the law.

The gallant admiral has told you he has two loves, and he seems to have made a very prudent choice, and to be a very thrifty wooer—For the love of his country he has obtained, and deservedly obtained, the rank, honour, and emoluments of his profession.—He is an admiral and a baronet.—For his love to his king, the minister has appointed him to the Admiralty Board, with a salary, as I take it, of 1200*l.* a year.—*[Here somebody contradicted him.]* He proceeded. If I have caused a mistake, or have been mistaken, let me rectify as I go: The admiral has been delivered of his second love, and this intelligence can neither hurt me nor him, for he would not be the first admiral who after being divorced married his lady again. Although unfortunate in his first amour, would you not be surprised to be told that the admiral has fallen in love again. He has fallen in love with a widow, who, in her weeds for her last husband, has obtained a British peerage for her portion. But is there any thing extraordinary that a baronet (a little baron) should wish to be a great one, a title too often disposed of at the close of a dissolution of Parliament—for myself I cannot help considering it as something like political adultery—for myself, I say, I should think it as much honour to be called a cuckold as to be called a lord.

The worthy admiral says he wishes to protect us from our foreign and domestic enemies. In this he must be sincere, because he has said it; and I do not mean to say or hint any thing to the contrary. I have an interest in the sincerity of it, for that will

will speedily determine the contest in which this country is engaged. The expence of corruption necessary to obtain a majority of votes on the beginning of a war, and the expence of corruption in the continuance of a war, are many times greater than would be sufficient to carry on a defensive war against all the world. It is not possible for this country, for any length of time, under the double expence of war and corruption, to carry on a contest against a nation which has cast off corruption. If the country with which we are at war has cast off corruption, if this be the chief cause of her success, surely then the casting off corruption would be of more advantage to this country than the efforts, however great, of any single admiral in the world, or of all the admirals in this country together. Thus, then, I have shewed to the admiral, and to you, and to the public (unless he or any other man can contradict the statement,) how the admiral can protect us from all our foes, and that is by bringing to justice our domestic enemies, and by destroying that corruption which prevents our success. I think I have pointed out to the admiral his duty.—I think I shall be able to prove that the practice of ministers, in the course of this election, (as I am persuaded myself,) are such that the admiral will not suffer his name to be joined to them, for I cannot think that he will suffer his name to be joined to those who are destroying this country, both at home and abroad; then will the admiral's name go down to posterity. [*Here he was interrupted by the populace, who did not relish any thing like praise to the admiral.*] He proceeded—I mean to say enough, and not too much—The difficulty with me is not to bring out words, but to stop them—I am sorry I have detained you so long; but I trust I have made that impression on the admiral, which will make him retire from this contest.—[*Great applause followed this speech.*]

FOURTH DAY.—TUESDAY, MAY 31.

At the close of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - -	1121
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - -	1010
Mr. HORNE TOOKE - - - - -	893

Mr. Fox then briefly addressed the electors:

Perseverance in a good cause is the sure way of gaining and continuing to have persevering friends. I have had the good fortune to be favoured by you many different times, and in different situations: you have never deserted me in any; and, therefore, I should be the basest of mankind, if any thing whatever should induce me to desert you.

This short address was received with rapture.

Sir

Sir ALAN GARDNER attempted to speak; but the people were so very noisy and clamorous, he could not be heard.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE came forward and said, Gentlemen, When I had the honour of addressing you yesterday, I was interrupted in consequence of a mistake which I made in respect to the ministerial candidate; not having studied the Red Book so fully as I might have done, they were glad of an opportunity of shewing that the admiral was not at present a Lord of the Admiralty. But this was an error to which every man is liable, for they shift their places and their titles so frequently, it is impossible to know by what names they chuse to be called, since the Lord Hawkebury of yesterday is to-day the Earl of Liverpool. In consequence of this mistake, I did apply myself to the study of the Red Book, and found the admiral's name. If he thought it an advantage to him to deny that he was at the Admiralty Board, will he think it an advantage to him that he has the sinecure place of Major General of Marines? For his friend, who is equally anxious to prove that he has not a seat at the Admiralty, he, likewise, has a sinecure place of Collector at St. Kitt's; I take it of 1600*l.* a-year.

However, for the mistake I hope they will forgive me, when they consider that I never did, nor ever will receive, from the present or any future King or Administration, directly or indirectly, by myself or any other person, the benefit of one farthing.—Having settled that account, I beg to take notice to you of conversations which have taken place between the friends of the ministerial candidate, and of circumstances which have been stated in a ministerial paper of this day.—It has been mentioned as a subject of reproach, that there was a coalition between Mr. Fox and myself. I mention it the rather, because it may possibly serve in some measure to direct the conduct of the electors in the future course of the poll.

The ministers have shewn that they fear it and dread it, and well they may; for if all the persons who have voted singly for Mr. Fox had given their second votes to me, and all who have voted singly for me had given their second votes for Mr. Fox, the ministerial candidate must by this time have turned tail with disgrace. You will give me leave to state to you what is the cause of this ministerial fear: it is not so much that they fear the loss of one vote more or less in the house, as that they seek to make it appear that the public is weaker than it really is, and that the ministerial influence is stronger than it really is. And those who consult the poll, which very few ever do, will perceive that the numbers who have polled for Mr. Fox and me on this occasion, will shew what a decided opinion has been
given

given by the electors against the present detestable administration.

I wish that the poll of this day may be the example of the future days of the poll. Mr. Fox is at the head of the poll: it gives him pleasure, and I desire it should be so. I am the second upon the poll; and, I think, I have polled between 40 and 50 to-day more than the admiral.

I have ventured to say this to you, not fearful of any imputation of coalition, for my character is known to be intractable, if you please, obstinate. I hope, however, I am very flexible to reason and sound argument; but I do acknowledge, and I make it my boast, that upon all great public questions, neither friends nor foes, nor life nor death, nor thunder nor lightning, shall ever make me give way the breadth of one hair.

FIFTH DAY.—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1.

At the close of the poll this day, the numbers were—

For Sir ALAN GARDNER	- - - - -	1750
Mr. Fox	- - - - -	1616
Mr. TOOKE	- - - - -	1192

Mr. Fox then addressed the electors, and said, Gentlemen, Notwithstanding the poll is not in my favour to-day, I have no fear of ultimate success. The circumstance of the first of June has, I presume, been the cause that the admiral has headed me between two and three hundred votes; I think it necessary to say, that the reports, that I have joined either of the other two respectable gentlemen, are wholly unfounded. I declared to you at the commencement of this election, that I stood before you wholly unconnected with any other candidate. I consider that declaration of mine in the nature of an engagement. Having therefore made that engagement, it shall not be a question with me whether that engagement was a prudent one or not from me; you shall always find me liberally and constantly adhering to it. When I say this, I mean it in a literal sense. I ask your votes for me only. I have not by myself, nor by others, asked any one elector to join my name to any other candidate for whom such elector had an inclination to poll. I am, however, equally obliged to those electors who join my name to any other candidate for whom they poll. Having said this, I will add, that I am glad I have no reason to doubt that you approve of my former conduct in parliament; and that the recollection of it is not less agreeable to you now than it has been on former occasions, although I am not at the head of the poll this day. But if you look at the poll books,
you

you will find that the success of the court candidate has come from the same quarter as it has done on former occasions; and every man interested in that quarter has given his single vote, as if the election actually depended upon it. I am, as I said before, entirely neutral as to the other candidates. But I have been told that there would be no difficulty in my being at the head of the poll at this moment, if I had not expressed my sentiments as not agreeable to you with regard to the other candidates. That I should have any necessity of explaining myself to you, I own, mortifies me. What! am I then, after all, so little known to you? Am I in a situation that should make it my interest to conceal my sentiments from you, or from the world at large? And that at a time too when the sentiments of all men should be known. My sentiments are now what they have been, and often expressed—that the present government supports itself by corruption. My opinion is, that the encroachments made on the rights of the people for a series of years, but most of all by the two bills which passed last session of parliament, have destroyed the essential and the vital parts of the constitution of this country. My opinion continues to be, that ministers have engaged in a war which has occasioned all the distresses you have lately suffered—and that a great deal more which you will suffer will lie at the door of those who engaged you to carry on this accursed war.

It remains for you, in this election, by the situation which you may give to me, to say what sense you have of that war; it remains for you, by this election, to shew whether I am now less esteemed by you than on former occasions, on account of the opposition which I have given to that war which I behold in the same light as I have always beheld it.

When I consider the state of this election, I am led to say you are more interested in it than myself in respect to the numbers on the poll. If it should appear that I have a less number than another, it will be interpreted by those who know pretty well, and who are always ready to interpret every thing they can into their own favour, and to their own advantage, that the sense of the city of Westminster is against those who have supported me. That indeed would mortify me; but indeed I cannot help thinking it would be still more injurious to you than to me. [*This speech was received with very great applause.*]

Sir ALAN GARDNER came forward to speak, but the people would not hear him.

After which Mr. TOOKE spoke as follows:

Sir Alan Gardner has this moment desired me to speak a few words for him. I beg that you would hear the Admiral. I have a great interest that you should do so. I should be extremely

tremely gratified if you would at all times hear Admiral Gardner speak against himself. It is impossible, and would be unbecoming in me, to say so much against the admiral as he would against himself.

After what Mr. Fox has said, it is fit for me to give some account of my conduct during the poll. I have never made any engagement except one—except that engagement which I entered into shortly after I was born, to oppose by all the means in my power, oppression and tyranny, in whatever shape they presented themselves.

I have not presumed to dictate to any elector; but, whoever has asked my opinion, I have done what I shall continue to do—I have begged him to vote for Mr. Fox. I am not, have not been, and cannot be neutral; even what Mr. Fox has this moment said, makes it impossible—for he has declared, that the ministry build their power upon corruption, and that by their two infamous bills, they have destroyed the very vitals of the constitution. How then can I be possibly neutral, when one of the candidates, Mr. Fox, opposed these measures; and the other candidate is now connected with them, and was a member of the last parliament, giving his aid to all those evils of which we complain. But when I say so, though I differ with Mr. Fox on this occasion, as I have on other occasions, I impute nothing to him; he has his way of thinking, and I have mine.

The ministry have made a great poll to-day, and if there were any adversity in it, it would not be so bitter to me as to those not so much accustomed to it, because it has been the chief food of my life; but I do not consider it as adversity. The seat is by no means the ultimate object of my pursuit, it makes but a small part of what I seek; however I believe, in spite of this poll, that that seat will still be obtained. I have been asked by some of my friends, and those some of the best friends of the public cause in which we are engaged, how I could possibly expect to succeed in this election against a ministry who had been able in three years to raise and squander so many millions to the king of Prussia, the king of Sardinia, the emperor of Germany, to Hesse, to Hanover, to Brunswick, and the rest of the hirelings?

I have been asked besides, will not they who have spent a hundred thousand pounds in the late prosecutions—who have imprisoned and ruined hundreds of innocent men, merely to destroy me—will they not spend two hundred thousand pounds, if necessary, to keep me out of parliament?

Gentlemen, these questions appear to me to be reasonable and well founded. But this does not dismay me, let it not dismay

you. [*Here many cried out, "It never shall."*] The millions which they have already squandered upon despots in this crusade for despotism, are gone from this country never to return; and many millions more than they can by any means extort from us, will still be wanted for the same purpose. This profuse and profligate ministry, the friends of the candidate at the head of the poll, are deep in arrears of every kind. They are deep in debt to every person and every service. The constable who took me into custody attended (an honest and a good man) he attended the first day of the poll, to give me a vote. [*A long interruption by a great shouting, during which Sir Alan Gardner said, "Hear the sequel! hear the sequel!"*] Sir Alan Gardner begs you to hear the sequel. I'll give it. The constable complains that Mr. Dundas, who gave him that illegal and infamous warrant, for which he must one day be brought to justice; he complains, that this scoundrel secretary of state [*A long interruption by the ministerialists.*] I desire to be clearly understood [*interruption*] let me be fairly understood. I mean that he is a scoundrel both as a secretary of state and a man. I wish to tell you that sequel which Sir Alan Gardner recommended you to hear. I was speaking of the constable. He complained that this secretary of state, who sends him to take up and put in dungeons better men than himself, never paid him a farthing for his trouble. He complains that they owe him near three hundred pounds.

I have before desired you not to be dismayed at this poll, nor should you be dismayed at the appearance of the state of the country. The ministry have undertaken what is beyond their power. The expence of enforcing slavery in Europe, whilst they are establishing it at home, will exceed the wealth of all the individuals of this country collectively, although they should continue for ever tame enough to be drained and beggared to the last shilling in this cause. It is pretty evident, nay, it is plain, that their resources begin to fail; one resource, however, they have—I know they have it—to procure ready money for elections of this kind, for I know they have used it before upon similar occasions. I'll tell you as shortly as I can, and afterwards the reasons why I tell it you.

An act of parliament was made some years ago to prevent the misapplication of public money—the receipt for the different offices is sent to the Bank, and the different boards are to give specific drafts for the specific purposes to which the money is to be applied. The solicitor or agent produces certain bills to the board, which, he says, should be paid—the board orders the payment, so that all things stand fair in their account—the money is received from the Bank (I speak, I believe, in the hearing of persons

persons who know the truth of what I say.) The confidential agent or solicitor receives that money, and lends it to the confidential friend of the minister, to ——— at our elections.

Thus you see no laws will ever make us safe, unless we have a fair representation of the people in the house of commons, to enforce the execution of the laws.

Now for the reasons why I have told you this: first, to shew you that ours is a trifling and ridiculous triumph, when they reluctantly give us an honest law or two that will never effectually be put in practice. And, in the next place, to give warning to all concerned in this iniquity. I give them warning—you will certainly return me, and I shall certainly bring them to justice. Now then, Gentlemen, for the last reason, and I am sorry I have detained you so long. I hope this will tend to make us even more unanimous than we are, that even those contractors and tradesmen of government, and public creditors, who must vote against me, who are compelled to have their names appear upon the ministerial list at an election, will see that it is their interest that I should be returned, that the public creditor may not be unjustly kept out of his money, but have it fairly as soon as his bill is ordered for payment.

SIXTH DAY.—THURSDAY, JUNE 2.

At the close of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - -	2116
Mr. Fox - - - - -	1978
Mr. TOOKE - - - - -	1377

Mr. Fox addressed the electors, and took notice of the friendly declaration which was made in his behalf yesterday by Mr. Tooke, for which he thanked him. He observed, that he had been informed that the friends of Sir Alan Gardner had, many of them, canvassed for that gallant Admiral, and particularly desired that their friends should not poll for him (Mr. Fox). He was not at liberty, he said, to solicit any persons to poll for any person but himself. He considered himself as having, by his advertisement and address to the electors, pledged himself to that effect; but he could not help saying, that with respect to one of the other candidates who stood before them, he was obliged to him for his friendly declaration; to the other he certainly owed no obligation; all he begged of the electors was to continue their exertions in his favour; for no other person did he solicit. He had experienced too many proofs of the affection of the electors towards him to have any doubts of success on the present

contest. He had too deep a sense of the obligations which they had conferred on him to alter his determination to defend their interests.—[*He was received with great applause, and no voice was heard against him.*]

Sir ALAN GARDNER said, that neither himself, nor any of his friends, to his knowledge, had desired those who should vote for him, not to vote for Mr. Fox. He hoped that the electors would continue to give him support, as they had done already. He relied on their exertions, and had no doubt of success.—[*A great number of persons applauded, and the multitude disapproved of this address.*]

Mr. TOOKE then came forward and said, Gentlemen, I rarely trouble you with any reference to the numbers on the poll, but I must intreat you not to be alarmed at the numbers you have seen to-day. I beg you to reflect, that little more than three thousand persons have polled, and that there remain ten thousand electors who have not yet given their votes. I beg you to consider the difference between the voters—the voters for the ministerial candidate are disciplined troops;—on our side they are all volunteers, and as independent in the times of their coming up to poll as they are in the motives for their votes.—Consider, besides, that the placemen, the pensioners, and contractors are all struggling hard for their profits, and others for their forfeited lives. Their eagerness then will not surprise you, and that will account for the alertness of the poll on their side; but I little doubt that Mr. Fox and myself shall still both of us succeed in this election. If it should be otherwise, if the worst should happen, let this be our comfort, it will not be a pardon for the crimes of the ministry, but only a short reprieve.

During the course of this poll, Mr. Fox and myself have had a disadvantage—a disadvantage which your justice and kindness to us will, I hope, remove. The disadvantage is that by permitting us to address you, and listening to what we say, we are not only liable to mistakes, to which all men are subject, and especially in such a situation as this, but we are also liable to those misrepresentations and misinterpretations which our adversaries are very industrious to circulate. From this disadvantage the admiral has been relieved. This day you have, for the first time, done what I hope your justice to him and your kindness to us will induce you to do during the remainder of the poll. You have heard, and will continue to hear, the gallant admiral.

There has been a misinterpretation or misapprehension of two things which I said yesterday; the first requires a very short

short explanation. I said, it would gratify me if you would permit the worthy admiral to speak against himself. I meant by speaking against himself, no want of ability, no personal imputation upon him, but merely, that in order to defend himself he must defend the ministry by whom he is supported, and to whom he has given and must hereafter give his support; and I supposed, that his defence of the ministry would be the strongest condemnation of himself.

I have but one circumstance more to mention to you—it brings with it such thoughts into my mind as almost prevents my utterance. I applied an epithet, a gross one in a very personal manner, and which must needs have been offensive to the ears of all decent men. But if they will give me a patient hearing, and listen to the end of what I have to say, I flatter myself, that the candidate himself, and all his friends, and all the adherents even of the ministry, will go away satisfied with me this day. I shall have no occasion for reasoning or argument, but shall barely state a fact.

It is unnecessary to bring back to your memory, that I have been kept in close custody seven months—excluded, during that time, from all communication or correspondence with any of my family or friends. It is unnecessary to remind you, that I have held up my hand, as a traitor, at the bar of the Old Bailey. But, with what I shall tell you, I suppose you are all entirely unacquainted, because it is not to be found in any account of the proceedings.

Mr. Dundas, my next door neighbour, and who had been so for two years, knew perfectly well the situation of my family, with which others of the ministry might not perhaps be acquainted; but he knew it perfectly well. My family consists singly of myself, and two young women, my children. He, a father of children himself, took me away suddenly, detained me in close custody, without any communication or correspondence, and left my house and my family for twelve days and nights in the possession of four common thief-takers from the police-office.

It almost overpowers me when I think of it.—Look at the refinement of this man's malice, it was not enough that my head should be stuck upon a pole, that my body should be quartered, that my fortune should be confiscated, and that my children should be sent out naked, and friendless, and beggars into the world, unless he could contrive that they should be sent out dishonoured too. These are the men whom the admiral must support. I must do justice to one person in the administration, who was a father, and in a situation like my own—he felt compassion for me, and did contrive a communication

cation for me, by which I was enabled to prevail upon a lady and her daughter to put themselves into the same terrible circumstances, and go down to my house in the middle of the night, to continue and reside with my family, to save them from this intended dishonour.

Now then, Gentlemen, I call upon all who hear me—men, women, parents, children, the candidate himself, and his adherents, if they have hearts let them say, whether I was wrong in the epithet I used. For my own part, I say I was wrong in using that epithet, but I was wrong by necessity, for there was no word in the language strong enough to apply to him.

SEVENTH DAY.—FRIDAY, JUNE 3.

At the close of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - -	2349
Mr. FOX - - - - -	2275
Mr. HORNE TOOKE - - - - -	1569

Mr. Fox then addressed the electors. He observed, that when he recollected that near 6000 of them had polled for him upon a former election, he entertained no doubt that he should be at the head of the poll in this; and he could not help thinking, that the present political state of the city of Westminster would shew to the people of this country at large, that his constituents approved as much of his late conduct, as their representative, as they ever did on any former occasion; that this, in short, was the moment of his life in which they most approved of him.

Sir ALAN GARDNER then addressed the electors, and all that we were able to collect of what he said, amidst so much tumult, was, that he professed an attachment to his King and the Constitution, which he would endeavour to protect against foreign and domestic enemies. There was a rumour, he said, that there was a coalition between the other two candidates. He said, that if he was returned to parliament, he should oppose Mr. Fox, because he did not like the political principles of that Right Hon. Gentleman. He would tell them why he did not like his political principles. He had been in the House of Commons for some years, and he did not know a vote which the Right Hon. Gentlemen had given that was not against the measures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, good or bad. He could not conclude that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in the wrong; for if he was, he would not be allowed to remain in his situation: he believed, indeed, that the Minister was beloved throughout the country. A Gentleman on his left hand had informed them some time ago, that he (the Admiral)

was

was Major General of the Marines: he was Major General of the Marines, and that office was given to him in the most gracious manner by his Sovereign, for the good opinion which his Sovereign entertained of him for all his services, and, among the rest, his services on the 1st of June. His life had been devoted to the service of his country, and that brought him to the rank and station which he now held.

Mr. Fox replied with great animation to the observations of Admiral Gardner. The Admiral, said he, has said that I have made a coalition with the other candidate: now after I had solemnly declared upon my honour before you, and in his hearing, the very contrary of this, I think I was entitled to credit as a gentleman. I think also that the Admiral, when he mentioned the rumour, might have ventured to state his belief of that rumour, for he will not say here, or any where else, that what I have asserted before you is not true—I believe he will not. I have already told you I solicit your votes for myself only. He tells you why he dislikes my politics: he dislikes them, because I have always opposed the present Minister. But he should point out any measure that I have opposed that was beneficial to this country, before he should make the opposition I have given, a charge against me. I have opposed this war: will the Admiral shew to you the impropriety of that opposition? Will he shew to you what we have gained by this? Will he shew to you what enemies we have defeated, or what allies we have protected?—The Admiral has laid down a rule to-day, by which we are to understand that Mr. Pitt must be in the right, because otherwise he would be out of employment. The Admiral, who I suppose is a fair man, has made use of an excellent argument, by which you are to learn that he is of opinion, that every Minister is right, *because he is Minister!* The Admiral, who is a plain speaking man, has given you, in a few words, the creed of all courtiers, and the principle which all ministerial candidates follow—"That whoever the King appoints must be in the right, and shall by him, and all men like him, be supported."—But as I learnt the constitution of this country from my youth, to this hour I have always been of opinion, that Parliament should be the judge of the propriety of the conduct of the King's Ministers, and that to suppose "that all men are right because they have places," is the doctrine of our new constitution, which I do not subscribe to nor revere. It is the old constitution of Great Britain that I love. The Admiral's doctrine, "that every man is right, because he is in office," is not to be found in our old constitution. You know my history—there is no part of my
political

political conduct of which I repent, and therefore no part of it which I intend to alter. [*This speech was received with that loud demonstration of joy which is expressive of the heart-felt satisfaction of a multitude of persons who revere the orator who addresses them.*]

Mr. TOOKE then addressed the electors as follows: Gentlemen, Before you heard the Admiral, I told you that which you should now consider, that if the Admiral spoke, he would speak against himself. You have heard him—and I now ask you, that having heard him, are you not of opinion that he has spoken against himself? [*No! no! was vociferated on the one side, and Yes! yes! on the other.*].—But the Admiral's condemnation upon this election is contained in his own words: he says, that Mr. Fox always voted against the measures of the Minister, “good or bad.” Need I draw the consequence—that the Admiral, in speaking for the Minister, has spoken against himself? for he owns by his speech, that the Minister has brought forward bad measures. The Admiral has altered his address to you since this election began: he is a week older—he is no longer a *lover*, but a friend—he tells you he is a friend to the King, and a friend to the Constitution—I did not hear him say one word about the people. [*Here there was an uproar of applause from the multitude.*] He forbears to say any thing about the people. He has likewise said, that he is a friend to the Ministry; and, although he has not said so, I suppose he would wish it to be understood, that he is also a friend to his country. To be a friend to both, at this time, appears to me to be very difficult: however, it is not absolutely inconsistent in the Admiral, if you take into consideration the time and place in which he says it. He declares himself a friend to the country on the Hustings, and he may prove himself the friend of the Minister in his vote in the House of Commons. But it appears to me of small consequence to you, whether the Admiral has been the friend of the Minister or not. The question he should have agitated was, whether you would have a friend of the Minister or not? He should have given some reason to direct the conduct of this poll. In his friendship for the Minister, he should adhere to the old proverb—“that you should always praise the bridge that carries you safe over.” You need not be at much trouble to settle the question at whose expence the bridge was built, or who is to keep it in repair. Yet I do beg not to be misunderstood: I do not mean to say, that the late representative of this city, Lord Hood, or the present candidate, Sir Alan Gardner, have had, or ever will have, what they deserve for their professional merits.

At no one time has it ever happened, or I am afraid it ever will happen, when men should be rewarded as they deserve for their naval and military services; they are the most ungrateful of all services, and in which neither private men or officers are sufficiently taken care of or rewarded; but what I complain of, and what the public have reason to complain of, is, that Ministers pervert the talents of men in these services, and make use of them as an instrument to destroy the liberty of this country. The Ministers often send men of no character, or men of infamous character [*such as yours*, was uttered by some person: this was resented by the populace, which produced a great uproar]. It was but one voice I heard against me, but if there were a thousand, I would say they ought to be heard against me, as well as those who speak against Sir Alan Gardner.—Although the character of the candidate is of no consequence in a venal borough, the character of a candidate in a popular city like this, where the people have some share in the election, is of importance, and therefore Ministers take care to have the best character they can find, who will submit to be so used, to put him up, that the people may be deceived, for the people do not always consider the consequences, but are dazzled by the glare of the character of a man who has distinguished himself on points that have nothing to do with the merits of an election. If a man of common sense was to be addressed in this way by another, “Sir, I have here by my side a most excellent *cook*, he has served up for me very good dinners, I recommend him to you for a *hair-dresser*,” what would you think of such a recommendation? Such is the manner in which Ministers insult your understanding by proposing the Admiral for your choice as your representative in Parliament. If the Admiral should question me about the rigging of a ship, I certainly should make but a scurvy figure [*as you do on the bustings*, said somebody behind him, which produced another violent uproar, and the person who uttered it was very roughly treated, and the cry of out! out! was vociferated from several quarters]. If I was to put the Admiral to question concerning the rigging of a Constitution, I believe he would not make a much better figure. Gentlemen, what has the glorious first of June to do with the choice of a Representative in Parliament? And yet the Minister has made that a shameful pretence for the influence of corruption, and I have no doubt but you will also have another gallant service of the 4th of June. All sorts of decent respect to the King are certainly proper, but is that the anniversary most dear to Englishmen? Is there no other anniversary dear to us? Yes, there is one that is more dear to us than the birth-days of all the Kings who have ever infested, or who have blessed the earth. I mean the birth-day of our liberty, the anniversary of the Revolution of

1688; that Revolution, obtained by our forefathers, was by them expressly intended to guard us against the evils of which we now complain, and against the politics which the Admiral now avows. The Admiral contents himself with telling us, that he is a friend to the Ministers, but he did not tell whether it was from their integrity or their wisdom that he admired them. We all of us feel their integrity in the taxes and the burthens which they have laid upon us, and as to their wisdom, let me give to you an idea and a sample of it.

The people were starving for bread—the wise Corporation of the City of London met from day to day to find some relief to the starving people. The Privy Council met, and they requested the Corporation to suspend their determination until they (the Privy Council) could find relief—What did this Privy Council say?—that they must find a substitute—to Englishmen a substitute for bread!!! If you do not admire the wisdom, admire the impudence of it. Observe what would follow this. Suppose you had accepted of grass for a substitute? If that had ever become the food of man, there would have been a scarcity of that too, and you would have had to find another substitute. But I say to you, put up with no substitute for bread—never do so, for if you ever do—if once you take less of that article than is necessary, you never will have more. The Admiral tells you, that if he had as many words at command as the Gentleman on his left hand, he would then do something or other, I know not what. You must know that he has every day expended more words in contending with me upon the Hustings, than either Mr. Fox or myself, and more than both of us together. The Admiral has a very good voice, when his words are well chosen. If he speaks on a subject which he understands, and is not called upon to speak his sentiments, no man can speak better than the Admiral; but he is out of his element here—he is not fit to be the tool of the Minister—he has a part to act which does not suit him. I shall trouble you no more at present. I hope you will call on the Admiral for his reply.”

The applause after this speech was prodigious.

EIGHTH DAY. SATURDAY, JUNE 4.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were

For Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - -	2624
Mr. FOX - - - - -	2529
Mr. TOOKE - - - - -	1634

After the Poll the different Candidates came forward and addressed the Electors.

Mr. Fox.—“ You will perceive that the gallant Admiral has headed me to the number of twenty-one on this day’s poll. The event

event of the seven days' poll which remain, will serve to mark your approbation or disapprobation of my Parliamentary conduct. I shall only assure you, that it will at all times be the greatest pride of my life, first to merit, and next to enjoy the good opinion of the Electors of Westminster."

Sir A. GARDNER.—"Mr. Fox has just informed you that I am at the head of the poll. For this honourable situation I certainly am much obliged to you; and I have only to say, that if you continue your exertions I shall undoubtedly retain it."

Mr. H. TOOKE.—Gentlemen, "The Admiral has undoubtedly said nothing to you to-day that I can possibly contradict or reason upon. He has barely informed you, that your exertions have placed him at the head of the poll, and that the same exertions, continued in the same manner, will keep him there."

It has been used as a reproach to Mr. Fox and me, that we had united for the purpose of the present election: I wish that reproach had a better foundation. In one thing, however, we certainly are of a mind, and probably in many others, as I believe and trust we are. But I think I risk no contradiction from any quarter in saying, that we certainly agree in this—that the stinking rubbish of the present Administration must be removed, before the foundations can possibly be laid of a building which Freemen may inhabit with safety and comfort.

If the present election had been carried with a high hand against the Minister from its commencement, as if it should still (as it easily may) be carried with a high hand at the close of the poll; I have no doubt but the present Administration would barely continue during the necessary interval for forming another.

I hope, Gentlemen, you will not be at all disheartened by the numbers upon the poll, but that for your own honour you will remember the manner in which the horse-dealer ties his horses. Any sorry jade will draw, if the carriage follows without much resistance; but the experiment he makes is this—he ties his horses to a tree, and when they find the tree does not follow, some of them, after hard struggles, lie down in despair, and no lashing can produce a fresh exertion. These are jades. Other horses strive and struggle, and strain and drag, until the horse-dealer is contented and satisfied with their bottom.

Gentlemen—We are tied to a tree, the tree of corruption—and in this country its height and bulk and weight is indeed vast and enormous. The disinterested and generous exertions which you have already made in the course of this poll, have, I will venture to say, shaken it.—Pull again—it will totter! and again, I say, Gentlemen, pull again, and it will tumble to the ground.

May I be permitted, Gentlemen, to direct your pull. The Electors of Westminster do not want inclination to the public cause

cause of liberty in which we are engaged. They only require invitation. If every Gentleman who hears me this day, and is well affected to the same cause, will exert himself, and call upon, and bring up to the poll a willing Elector, the Minister's triumph will be of very short duration, and we shall at once send the Admiral with glory and spirit back again to sea."

NINTH DAY.—MONDAY, JUNE 6.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - -	2983
SIR ALAN GARDNER - - - - -	2979
Mr. TOOKE - - - - -	1913

Mr. Fox, after observing that he was at the head of the poll, proceeded as follows.

Gentlemen, it is impossible for me to express my personal gratitude to you for your exertions and your kindness to me, still less is it possible for any exertions of mine to describe the advantages that may result to the country from the declared sense of the city of Westminster—the exertions which you have made, and the unequivocal declaration of your opinion, and all the circumstances which have attended this Election, will, I trust, have the influence which they ought to have on the general opinion of the people of Great Britain. When I cease to despair of seeing the Constitution of this country what it was at the Revolution, for the people can never be enslaved while they are true to themselves; and indeed it is my opinion of the people of this country that they will be true to themselves. I should have long ceased to doubt of the spirit of the people of this country, if they all resembled the Electors of the City of Westminster—if they had; we should not have seen the prolongation of this most odious and detestable war—if they had, we should not see Scotch Judges presuming to send men to Botany Bay for political opinion—if they had, we should not see Administration, year after year, attacking the characters, the liberties, the lives of innocent men, for the mere purpose of gaining credit to pretended plots and ideal conspiracies. In one word, if the people of Great Britain resembled you, the people of Westminster, we should have a speedy recovery of those liberties which were so gloriously earned by our ancestors, but which the last Parliament basely surrendered."

This speech was received with rapture.

Sir ALAN GARDNER thanked the Electors for their exertions.

Mr. TOOKE said, "Gentlemen, I have more satisfaction from this day's poll than from all the days which are past: not because I have polled a greater number of votes, but because my poll continues steady. This poll shews a steady people, and the steadiness

of

of the people is of more consequence than the gaining of any Election. You have this day thrust down the Admiral one step. The Admiral tells me that is a very small step:—it appears, therefore, he does not value very much in being the first in your esteem. I trust you will go on and give him an opportunity to shew the excellence of his temper by trying how he will bear to be put down the other step.

The Admiral has said nothing to you this day but to return you thanks, which he does not owe: for the numbers upon the poll are notoriously not given to Sir A. Gardner, but to Mr. Pitt, the Minister.

The Admiral told you the other day, (with what decorum you will consider) that he should much rather chuse to be returned your Representative in Parliament (which is merely a political situation) along with the Right Hon. Gentleman than with the other Candidate, altho' at the same time he declared that he disliked the politics of that Right Hon. Gentleman. He did not, however, add a single word of disparagement of the other Candidate, whom he rejected for a Colleague—I do not think he can. But if he can, or if those who sent him can, I should be glad to hear it; and I think, after such a voluntary and uncalled-for declaration, he owes it in his own justification to you—In the mean time, I am left to find out the reason of his preference from the expressions which he has used. I am compelled to suppose, that the Baronet's reason is contained in the two words *Right Honourable*, for, with these words, he graced that Gentleman's name. A title before a name may be a very natural motive for a Baronet's preference in the choice of his colleague; but I will endeavour very shortly to convince you, that it would be a very bad motive for you in the choice of a Representative, and I shall do it with the greater satisfaction to myself, because Mr. Fox has a much better and a much more solid claim to your support; I mean that very opposition to the Minister which the Baronet dislikes.

In this country, if any of you have been at the parade, or at a review, you have seen the commanding officers standing gallantly before their men (as the Candidates do here upon the Hustings) and give the word of command *in front*; you are egregiously mistaken if you suppose they do the same in the time of action. No, Gentlemen! they then give the word of command *from behind*. This will always be the practice in all other services, as well as the military, as long as favour, and birth, and title, and parliamentary corruption, and money, promote men to superior offices. The higher their station, the safer in time of action will be their situation.—Now then, Gentlemen, look at the conduct of that enemy, from whom you may learn some other things more useful than the *Telegraph* which we have adopted.

With

With them superior merit and bravery alone, promote their private men from the ranks, and place them in command, and even at the head of their armies. See the never failing consequence of this practice in their last brilliant victory at Lodi, when a column of their bravest grenadiers, were for a moment stopped; and hesitating at the furious cannonade of the Austrians, *six* of their generals rushed foremost at the head of the column, gave their command, and (what was better) their example *in front*, the victory immediately followed.

You, Gentlemen, the Electors of Westminster, and all the other Electors throughout England, will do well to consider and to ask yourselves these questions:—In our present cruel struggle between liberty and slavery, who are the persons starving for want of bread?

To whom do the Ministry propose a substitute for bread?

Who are the persons oppressed, beggarded, dishonoured, vilified and ruined?

Who are languishing and rotting in their gaols? [*A voice from the crowd said, HORNE TOOKE*]—It is true, I have been frequently in prison, but at present I had forgotten myself, I was thinking only of you.

I wish you to consider, who are sentenced to be flogged to death; or are tortured (the cruelest of all torture) with putrid diseases in their prisons?

Who are sent as felons to Botany Bay? Who are cast into dungeons, and treated and tried as traitors? [*Many persons present exclaimed, "THE PEOPLE."*]

Gentlemen, you say true. It is so, It is we—We, the private*s* in the ranks.

Where were all this while our political Generals? Where were our Right Honourable and Honourable Representatives? *BEHIND, SAFE in the REAR, reposing on their beds of Pension and Privilege.*

Gentlemen, Believe me, you cannot possibly have the smallest chance, you cannot reasonably entertain even the smallest hope of success, unless at your elections you pass by these Lords and these Lordlings, the Barons and Baronets, and chuse your Representatives from amongst the private*s* in the ranks."

TENTH DAY.—TUESDAY, JUNE 7.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - -	3332
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - -	3321
Mr. TOOKE - - - - -	2078

Mr. Fox then addressed the Electors as follows:—

“Gentlemen, it is with great concern, I state to you that a very unjustifiable attack has been made on the carriage of one of the Candidates at this election: all outrages are at all times in the highest degree reprehensible; but at the time of a popular election, besides the general breach of the law, it is an aggravated immorality by the violation of the freedom of election, which freedom is essential to the general interests of us all. I spoke yesterday, and to-day I speak with satisfaction on the spirit of the City of Westminster; but I hope and trust, that that spirit will be accompanied with an obedience to the law, and a due regard to good order. You cannot hope to recover your own liberties, unless you regard and respect the rights and liberties of others; the cause of liberty itself, sacred as it is, can never be triumphant, unless the world shall see that those who are attached to it, are attached also, to the supporters of, good order. I am sure you all know that I give no support to the gallant Admiral, as a Candidate for the City of Westminster; but although I do not approve of him as a politician, it becomes me, and it becomes us all, to remember, that he is nevertheless a good private character, and a deserving officer, and therefore ought not to be insulted. But if he was the reverse of this, an outrage upon him would be unjust to him and unjust to you. I am sure you feel as I do upon this subject, and I hope and trust that every man who feels a wish for the happiness of this country, at any time, and especially at this, that every man who wishes to shew his detestation of the conduct of our Administration—who is equally desirous to recover the rights of the people, will accompany all his efforts to obtain this desirable and good end, with a spirit that shews his love for good order and domestic peace. Having said this, which appears to me, as I hope it appears to you, to be necessary, I shall now only add, that I return my thanks to those who have made so good a stand for me, and by whom I am placed at the head of the poll; that there are yet remaining five days to poll, and that not more than one half of the electors have voted yet; that I desire a continuance of your exertions in my favour, and that to retain your approbation is the first object of my wishes.” This speech was heard with the most respectful attention, and afterwards most warmly applauded.

Sir ALAN GARDNER addressed the Electors also:—“Gentlemen, I return you thanks for the support you have given me
this

this day; I hope you will continue that support to the end of the poll. As to the treatment which I met with last night, you will excuse me if I have not many words to utter on that occasion. I hope that my character stands fair before you, and that there is not one man here who insulted me last night. I have only to request a continuance of your exertions in my favour, and I have no doubt I shall be returned to Parliament as one of your Representatives."

Mr. TOOKE said—"Gentlemen, I have heard with great concern, that an insult was offered to Sir Alan Gardner last night. I am firmly persuaded that such an insult was not offered to him by any persons who have stood before these Hustings during this Election. If I thought it was I should scarcely trust myself ever to open my lips here again—for I have spoken to inform you, but not to inflame you.

I am very much pleased that you have listened patiently to the Admiral this day. Had you not, it was certainly my determination to have troubled you no more; for it appears to me as dishonourable to continue to deliver my sentiments in opposition to those of another Candidate, who is not permitted to speak, as it would be to strike a man whose hands were tied.

But, Gentlemen, as you have heard him with respect, and as I am persuaded he will retire this night to his house as quietly as either of the other Candidates, I venture, for your information, to ask him some questions, which I should otherwise have suspended. The Admiral can certainly give you information, which no other person here can.

The Admiral has solemnly pledged himself to you for two things. To vote for an *honourable* Peace when it can be obtained. [Mr. Tooke here turned to the Admiral and asked him whether it were so? The Admiral answered "Yes."] The Admiral does not retract, as I dare swear he never will any thing that he says. He confirms the pledge. He has likewise pledged himself to combat the domestic enemies of the country. He told you that he spoke to you as a seaman, which I suppose means with the sincerity characteristic of the profession. He would disdain to make, or appear to make, in a solemn manner, an ambiguous or equivocal promise. I shall, by my questions, give him an opportunity to make it impossible for his most unjust and bitterest enemies to suppose that he could do so.

An honourable Peace—What is an honourable Peace? By your hearing the Admiral patiently and silently, you will certainly know; and it is necessary that you should know what it is he has promised, and for what he has solemnly pledged himself to you. Does the Admiral mean, as the Minister formerly told us, that in order to make it an honourable Peace, an indemnification

demnification will be necessary for all the lives which have been sacrificed, and all the millions which have been squandered in this unjust, disgraceful, and disastrous War? I do not mean, without any deduction from the Prussian subsidy, or value received. I mean that part of it which was paid for the protection of Hanover, though for my own part I would not consent to deduct a farthing for it.

Does he think it a necessary condition of an honourable peace, that despotism should again be re-established in France?—*[Many of the people cried out: No! No!]*—Gentlemen, I beg you not to forget that I expect that answer from the Admiral, and not from you.

Does the Admiral think it a necessary condition, that the Stadtholder should be restored to that despotism in Holland which he before obtained by the intrigues of our Ministers, and the Prussian troops?

Does he think it necessary that the Emperor should again be empowered, notwithstanding our guarantee to the contrary, to pillage and enslave Brabant and Flanders?

Does the Admiral think it a necessary condition, that no European power but ourselves should possess a foreign Colony?

Most probably the Admiral will not say that these are now the necessary conditions of an honourable Peace: for by this time they must have passed away even from the dreams of the Minister.

Perhaps on the contrary, the Admiral and the Minister may now tell us very reasonably, and truly, that the honourableness of the conditions of a Peace depends upon the circumstances and situation of the country which make it. Perhaps he will tell us, that Denmark acknowledges the French nation and Government—that Sweden acknowledges them—that Venice and Tuscany, and Switzerland and Genoa, acknowledges them—that America not only acknowledges, but is united in the closest bonds of friendship with them; besides our amiable allies of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco.

Perhaps the Admiral will tell us, that Prussia has been pretty soundly beaten by them, and is now partly a defensive ally; and partly, as far as the line of demarcation is concerned, and offensive ally also. That Spain has been conquered by them, and is now in defensive alliance with them, and without great care will soon be offensive too. That the Italian dominions of the King of Sardinia have been conquered, and are now actually in their possession, and the King himself at their feet. That Holland has been conquered by them, and is now established a free and independent Republic. That the French are now in possession of the Netherlands, and of most of the German Territories on this side of the Rhine.

He may tell you more, he may tell you, that a blacker cloud hangs over our head. He may, perhaps, tell you, that if by our great superiority at sea, we should once convince the French, and all Europe, that they cannot possibly hold a single Island in the West Indies, or a single establishment in the East, they may probably change their plan, and convert it into a war of devastation, and effectually prevent us from having any benefit in those foreign settlements in which we will not permit them to have any share.

If he should tell you all this, he will tell you nothing but the truth; and if he should maturely reflect upon these things, he will probably, before he leaves you, change the terms of his promise and his pledge, and may think those terms fit and honourable in our present situation, which would have been thought the basest and most disgraceful in any former situation which this country ever held, before they were cursed with the present incapable, tyrannical, and detestable Ministry.

He will, therefore, probably change the words of his promise, and pledge himself to vote for a speedy and necessary Peace.

He will tell you his mind upon this to-morrow; he will explain to you what he meant by that honourable Peace, and if he should not do it in words, his silence will explain itself.

ELEVENTH DAY.—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	- - - - -	3665
Sir ALAN GARDNER	- - - - -	3605
Mr. TOOKE	- - - - -	2215

Mr. Fox addressed the Electors in the following sentence:—
“Gentlemen, I hope you will shew by your exertions in my favour, that it is impossible for any friend of the present Minister, to maintain that you approve of a war that beggars you, and of bills that enslave you.” He was received with the usual applause.

Sir ALAN GARDNER addressed the Electors—All we could hear of the speech of the gallant Admiral, was—“Gentlemen, I return you thanks for your exertions in my favour. I understood the Right Honourable Gentleman to express his confidence, that he will be at the head of the poll, now I hope I shall be at the head of the poll to-morrow. When an honourable peace can be obtained I will vote for it. [Here there was much laughter among the multitude.] What I mean by an honourable peace, is a peace that this kingdom will not be ashamed of—such a peace, I hope you will all consent to, and such a peace I will consent to. Gentlemen, I have no doubt I shall be at the head
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of the Poll." This was followed by a mixture of applause and disapprobation.

Mr. TOOKE said—"Gentlemen, I have as much private and personal respect for Sir Alan Gardner, as I have for any Gentleman with whom I am as little acquainted; and yet, it was not for his sake but for yours that I requested you to hear him patiently, and not to let him go away as great a stranger as he came. By stranger, I mean, that you should be as little acquainted with his political sentiments and principles, as you were the first day he set his foot upon the Hustings.

You have heard him, and a most extraordinary explanation he has given of what he means by an honourable Peace—a Peace, of which we are not to be ashamed. But would it not be well, if he could tell us of a War of which we should not be ashamed? But to know what he means by an honourable Peace, you must press him farther, for we know as little by his present explanation as we did before. Perhaps, so great is his attachment and opinion of his friend, that any Peace, or any War, will be honourable which the Minister shall approve.

Consider that you will have no other opportunity of enquiring into the sentiments of your Representatives for six or seven years to come. For the Minister, as I take it, has sent Sir Alan Gardner here upon this occasion for two reasons: the first, and as I suppose the chief reason, is, that he imagines he can rely upon his vote in the House of Commons. The second reason, is, that he is a professional man. The Minister is very grateful to those who vote as he would have them. Preferment out of a profession always vacates a seat in Parliament, but professional preferment does not. The Minister, therefore, chutes a professional man for his Candidate at Westminster, kindly and gently towards you, merely to save you the trouble of repeated elections. The Minister, I have no doubt, would if he could, save you the trouble of having any election at all: he certainly takes as much care as he possibly can to prevent it. He proved it to you not long ago, when he made Lady Hood a Peeress; [*Some persons hissed, some shouted, some laughed.*] It is impossible for me to know whether the Gentlemen hiss at the Peerage or at me. [*Numbers shouted "the Peerage, the Peerage."*] I beg not to be misunderstood, I mean to make no reflection on the Peerage; I say now, as I have said before, that Lord Hood has not had half what he deserves. I mention it only as an instance of the Minister's care to prevent your trouble; for when he had secured the Peerage to the family, he delayed the Patent to Lord Hood till the dissolution of Parliament, in order to defeat your election of a new Representative.

Gentlemen, on the same principle, if you should, which, not-

withstanding the numbers on the poll, I still think you will not do; but if you should return Sir Alan Gardner your representative in Parliament, I much fear we shall lose the benefit of his exertions in his first profession against our foreign enemies. For I should not wonder if the Minister should be unwilling to trust Sir Alan again to sea, for fear some accident should happen, to produce that which he dislikes more than all other things, another Westminster Election.

It is fortunate, however, for the Admiral, that he has taken up a new profession, that of combating our domestic enemies. I call it a new profession, because it certainly never before was understood to make a part of the qualification of a seaman. I refer to the Admiral himself. I am sure he will acknowledge, that when he was examined and past as a Lieutenant in the Navy, not one single question was put to him by the Board of Admiralty about the means of annoying domestic enemies. But this new profession he has now taken up, he has pledged himself to combat the domestic enemies of the country. Surely, then, it is fair to ask him to explain himself. Surely, it is fair to ask him to point out these domestic enemies—it may be done in two words. He may tell us who they are, and with what weapons he means to combat them. None but the Admiral himself can tell. Perhaps when the Admiral talks of domestic enemies, he means me; perhaps he means you; perhaps the Electors of Westminster who have supported me; perhaps he means all those who are enemies to his friend the Minister. If he does so, that would be a large list indeed, for it would include all those persons who are the real and true friends of the country.

But I am not willing to give the Admiral too long a task at once, perhaps the length of what I said yesterday, may be the cause of the shortness of his answer to-day. Let him tell us first, who are our domestic enemies; let him satisfy us that he has not made a formal declaration of war against Falstaff's men in Buckram, and in Kendal Green. The Admiral must have meditated deeply on this subject, he must have done so; it is impossible that he should have rashly dishonoured his country by supposing domestic enemies, unless he certainly knew that there were such. Let him first then declare these enemies, and we will come to him for instructions how to combat them. We will fight against them under his standard, under any standard except the standard of the present Minister: for *he* treacherously told us formerly, that the proprietors of boroughs were our domestic enemies; and afterwards, by the most atrocious means, he endeavoured to take away our lives for following his own instructions. They certainly were his own instructions,
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for I have them in his own hand-writing. And yet I ought to be cautious how I say *certainly*, for I have no better authority for it than the Minister's own oath in the late trials at the Old Bailey.

TWELFTH DAY.—THURSDAY, JUNE 9.

At the close of the poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. FOX - - - - -	3961
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - -	3884
Mr. TOOKE - - - - -	2303

Mr. Fox addressed the electors to the following effect:

“Gentlemen, by your exertions I head the poll by the number of seventeen on this day's poll—I must desire a continuance of your exertion in my favour. Gentlemen, as peace has been mentioned to you by the candidates, it is necessary for me to advert to it.—I am sure I shall be considered by every one who hears me, not only an enemy to the present war now, but also to have been an enemy to it from the beginning, and I think I am entitled to say, that no man, in proportion to his abilities, has done more to prevent the horrors of the present war, and procure peace, than myself.—It gives me great satisfaction to find, that even Ministerial Candidates in every part of this kingdom, think it necessary to have the word Peace in their mouths and in their advertisements—this is a complete proof that Ministers and their party know (but what they wish to conceal) that the opinion of the people of England is clearly against those who carry it on. [No! No! said a few; but Yes! Yes! Yes! was loudly uttered by the multitude.] I trust that you and the other Electors of Great Britain have too much sense to be gulled by general professions of wishes for peace; but you should ask your Candidates what it is they will do to obtain peace?—They say they will approve of peace, but do they say they will compel Ministers to do all they can to procure this peace?—Put them to the test upon this—The Ministerial Candidates will find a difficulty in it; for get peace, and you will destroy the power of those who are carrying on the war. Is there a man among you who believes—Is there a man any where in this kingdom, of any knowledge, who will pretend to believe, that the fall of the present Administration would not procure us peace? The test, therefore, to every Candidate should be, “Whether he intends to support the power, or to diminish the influence of the present Administration.” Ministers themselves profess a desire for peace, and under that pretence, for it is nothing more, they have made a curious attempt at negotiation. I need not tell you what they sent to those whom they do not allow to possess the direction of the government of France. Those who look at the conduct of our Administration, and especially

cially to the message which I have just alluded to, must think in one of two ways—those who think that Ministers possess a good capacity, must be of opinion they are insincere in their professions for peace—those who think they are sincere must, by observing their conduct, be clearly of opinion against their capacity—I give Ministers credit for neither the one nor the other, they have neither sincerity, wish for, nor capacity to carry on a negotiation. I trust, therefore, when your Candidates talk of peace, and when you exact a promise from them to procure it, that you will not be content with their supporting the shadow of a negotiation, but that you will exercise that which is your right, declare your abhorrence of the present war, and declare also, what is already indeed apparent to the world at large, declare the necessity for a speedy peace. Indeed the past negotiation, if negotiation it can be called, or whatever else it can be said to be, has shewn that Ministers, if they wished it, are as incapable of carrying on the negotiation, as they have proved themselves to be in carrying on the war. If these opinions are founded in reason, I trust you will shew you have not that sort of idea of peace which the Ministerial Candidates have, but that you will, by your votes for me, shew that peace is the first object of your choice; this appears to me to be extremely material for you to shew, as it is material for every part of the kingdom to shew. I have opposed the war from its commencement, and I may say that you feel I have acted as an honest man by so doing. I think I may say too, without arrogance, I have acted with something more of wisdom than those who have conducted the war. This you will shew by supporting me. I believe I speak within compass when I say there are still 5000 Electors of Westminster who have not polled at this Election. Those who approve of my conduct I hope will come forward and testify it by their votes. It is necessary you should distinctly and unequivocally declare your sentiments on this extraordinary crisis of our affairs.”—This speech was very much applauded.

Sir ALAN GARDNER then addressed the Electors; but it is impossible to report all he said, for the multitude were unfavorable to hearing him, as usual. We collected, however, what follows:

“Gentlemen, on this day’s poll I am seventeen below the Right Honourable Gentleman. But as I told you before, I am not dismayed at being seventeen below; to-morrow, I hope I shall be placed in a very different situation. [This produced a great laugh.] I have been told a great deal by one of your Candidates about my being determined to oppose our internal enemies; I hope it is not necessary for me to acquaint you again that I am a friend to the King and a friend to the Constitution of this country:

try: I hope there is not a man of you present who is of a different opinion. I thought it also necessary to inform you that I will stand against, and am determined to counteract the enemies of the Constitution, whether foreign or domestic. I happened to be born before the rebellion of 1745; I remember that rebellion; it made a very deep impression on my mind. I detest rebellion. I detest insurrection. I detest every thing—[*as we detest you*, was uttered from the croud] seditious. These are your enemies. I am persuaded there is not a man in this great multitude that comes under this description. I am not accustomed to speak in public, nor am I master of that eloquence which the other Candidates possess; I can only say I present myself to you as an honest man. Let me solicit you in the strongest manner I can, to continue your exertions in my favour: nothing will give me so much satisfaction. Nothing will gratify me so much as to be at the head of the poll." This speech was received like most of this Gentleman's speeches on the hustings, with a mixture of applause and disapprobation—a vast majority of the multitude against it.

Mr. TOOKE said, "Gentlemen, You have with great propriety listened patiently to the Admiral this day, and I think in some measure you have been paid for it. You see it is very plain that he does not want words, and it is very plain to me that he does not want matter. The only difficulty which he appears to me to labour under, springs not from himself, but from another. He is restrained, he *must not let out too much!!* As he explained to you what he meant by an "honourable PEACE," so has he explained what he meant by "*domestic ENEMIES!!*"

Gentlemen, I have discovered who are the domestic enemies—you may discover it not from their words, but from the *practice of the Minister* and his followers. You know that disciplined armies are not permitted to plunder and pillage their friends. Those are the enemies from whom *they take the booty*.

Gentlemen, a NATION that has been thus treated as this has been, has a right to demand two things—*security for the future*, and JUSTICE for the past!!! One of the Candidates, Mr. Fox, by his declarations to you from the Hustings, has given you full reason to be satisfied that he will exert his utmost endeavours to obtain them both for you. For my own part, for all that is personal to myself, I should be well contented to let the DELINQUENTS GO FREE, provided we could obtain security for the RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE in future. The *other Candidate* has given you *no reason to expect his assistance* in obtaining either. He is looking anxiously forward to that *honourable PEACE*, of which neither he nor you, nor the Minister will be ashamed. The MINISTER, ashamed of the peace!! Who has *not* been *ashamed* of the War!!!

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The Admiral sorrowfully told you he might be reduced to *half-pay*: and, that in case of such an event, his MAJOR-GENERALSHIP of the MARINES would not be worth more to him than about SIX HUNDRED POUNDS A YEAR !!!—[*Great shoutings and interruptions for some time*]—Gentlemen, I am frequently compelled, perhaps from the improper manner in which I express myself, to request you not to misunderstand my words. The GENERAL, I mean the Admiral, though indeed I might call him either, for he is both !! [*again shouting and interruption*] I do not mean to cast the slightest imputation upon the reward he has received !!! Before God, I think he deserves double. But the Admiral did not, as I wish he had, he did not seem to cast a thought, at least he did not utter a word concerning those other gallant Officers in the service, who, with an equal claim with himself to reward, will be reduced as well as himself to half pay, and have no friend in the Minister to make them also *Generals of Marines*. Another consideration affects me much more strongly; if there are to be *sham* Generals and *sham* Colonels of Marines for the Officers, why are there not *sham* marines for the PRIVATE men? However, Gentlemen, these neglected Officers and privates will certainly have one resource left. They, too, may take up the new profession against the domestic enemies !!! and it would not be wonderful if they all did.

The sea service is not a very active one, compared to this new service. Few Admirals, however fortunate, can expect to be in more than five or six brilliant actions in the course of their lives. The Admiral has been in some. I mean to do him justice. But look at the other profession; see the difference of the activity and the difference of the booty. I will give you an instance of it. I mean that of Mr. WILLIAM GRENVILLE, now Lord GRENVILLE. I think he commenced his political warfare against domestic enemies, in the office of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he continued in that situation long enough to gain and take from the enemy, one or two very comfortable reversions.

But, Gentlemen, this was only *skirmishing* in Ireland,—and, therefore, very fortunately for us. I mean very fortunately for him (one is very apt to make those mistakes in speaking,) I say, very fortunately for him, he came over to us in England to join the main battle, against the foe. He had scarce put his foot in the country when he attacked, not a very strong post, I mean, a seat at the Treasury Board, and that produced him 1600*l.* a year. [Many of the people cried “*What, no more?*”] You say, “*What no, more?*” He said, “*the same !!!*” However, he was scarcely warm in his seat, than he was again in action, and was quickly made Paymaster General of the forces.

This brought him 2000*l.* a year! But still his mind ran more upon

upon receipt than payment—he soon quitted that station to become *Speaker of the House of Commons*, and that place is worth 600*l.* a year !!! You think now, perhaps, that I have finished the list of *his exploits*. Nothing like it ! The *wig* of the *Speaker* was scarcely fitted to his head, when he became Secretary of State and Cabinet Counsellor. [Many cried “*what is that worth?*” what is *that worth?*”] Why, it is worth, besides the salary, just as much as the conscience of the possessor will let him make of it. But his activity in these hostilities does not stop here. He is quickly made a *PEER* ! [Numbers cried out *what is that? what is that?*”] Why I should have more difficulty to answer that question than any other. But his duty in the House, as a Peer of the Realm, and his employment as a Cabinet Counsellor, and the business of his office as secretary of State, were not enough for his *active* spirit. He had still time left for *FARTHER HOSTILITIES*, and he was made *RANGER* of both the Parks. This brought him 2 or 3000*l.* a year. But all this would not do ! He pushed on and attacked an old dismantled fortification, (many of their guns were dismounted,) but still it shewed, a formidable face to *the enemy* ! He attacked it gallantly and *took it* ! He was made *Auditor of the Exchequer* ! And this produces to him, I believe, 7000*l.* a year more ! —Perhaps you will ask me, *When he will think he has enough?* I can tell you *to a farthing*. As soon as he is in possession of the utmost farthing *he can get* !

Now, Gentlemen, there is something very strange, very extraordinary, which ought to be noticed that in all these active services and in all these *hardships* which he has gone through, this Gentleman was never once known, at least as far as I have ever heard, he was never known once to complain for *want of bread* : no, nor of *the dearness* of bread, nor of any *other pressure* which we all of us feel from our *TAXES* and other *BURDENS* !!! He had *found a substitute* ! This is one of those wise statesmen of this great nation, who entered into a solemn league and covenant, into a solemn compact and agreement with each other, that they would not, for several months to come, touch either *PUDDING OR PIE* !!! They proposed also a substitute for you. They did not indeed say what it should be, but these Ministerial Gentlemen are always very *shy* in explaining the terms and words which they make use of upon these occasions. You may have seen how it is here, when we push them to explain the *meaning* of their words, they are as silent as dead men. There is a saying indeed, that “dead men tell no tales ;” but that is not true in political matters, for in them it seems that dead men only tell tales.

The famous historian, Mr. *GIBBON*, lately departed, has left a written account of *his* campaigns against the *domestic* enemy, and he explains the terms he uses as he goes. *He too* was for one Par-

liament in the House of Commons; he too declared that he had a *friendship for the Minister*, and he explained the term. By "*friendship for the Minister*," he means he *voted with him upon every question*. The Minister had likewise a friendship for him, and he explains what that meant. No bribery nor corruption—nothing of the kind. The Minister gave to him what the terms "*a convenient salary*" of 850*l.* a year. Whilst Mr. GIBBON held this post, the *domestic enemy* attacked it, the Minister's troops were discomfited, and Mr. GIBBON lost the convenient salary!—What should he do now? *Gratitude*, he says, made them join *another set of Ministers*. He explains the term *gratitude* which he uses here to mean the expectation he had of a *thousand* a year from them as Commissioner of the Customs. Well! He fought with them under their banners, and they conquered: but then he complains that they did him great injustice; but he explains what he means here by injustice, and his explanation will make it unnecessary for me to explain any further; these are literally his words, "My VOTE," says he, "was counted in the day of battle; but I was overlooked in the DIVISION of the SPOIL!!!"

THIRTEENTH DAY.—FRIDAY, JUNE 10.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	- - - - -	4233
Sir ALAN GARDNER	- - - - -	4174
Mr. TOOKE	- - - - -	2407

Mr. Fox then addressed the electors very shortly, in which he observed that Sir Alan Gardner had polled more than him in the course of the day by the number of 18 votes. He observed, that there were two more following days, and that he believed there were near five thousand electors yet who had not polled. He was applauded, as usual.

Sir ALAN GARDNER addressed the electors, "I am at the head of this day's poll by the number of 18. The Right Honourable Gentleman thinks he will head me at the final close of the poll—I think very differently—I hope and trust that, by a continuance of your exertions, by your partiality, by your love for me [this produced a mixture of applause and disapprobation, and the Admiral being urged by his friends to proceed, quaintly told them, "I shall say no more."]

Mr. TOOKE said, "Gentlemen, the Admiral bids me go on, for he shall say no more. He stopped at the word LOVE. You see how unfortunate he is in his amours. No wonder, Gentlemen, he told you yesterday that he remembered the grand rebellion in 45. But, Gentlemen, you hear every day from the other two Candidates, that the one or the other is at the head of the poll,

poll. I am afraid they may give you the change, and make you forget there is any other struggle here, than which of these two should be at the head of the poll. I have never troubled you with the state of the poll, and yet, I have every day examined it. And since we are to talk of the poll, I will endeavour to make you understand it. I would not have you be discouraged at the numbers you see upon the board. In what I am going to say, I beg you not to suppose that I am ironical. I really am well contented with the state of the poll. And when I say I am well contented, I mean that the public has reason to be well contented, for I am out of the question, it is their election, not mine. It is of some consequence that you should understand this poll. To understand it, it must be dissected. I have dissected it daily.

At the close of the poll yesterday it stood thus. Mr. Fox's votes are three sorts.

Votes for Fox and GARDNER	—	—	1663
For Fox and TOOKE	—	—	1572
Single Vote. for Fox only	—	—	726
			<hr/>
Total	—	—	3961

To judge of this poll you must consider the sorts of votes. Because we must not dissemble, we must do justice to the devil. In order to estimate between the Public and the Minister, we must consider the influence which produced the votes. These votes for Fox and Gardner I attribute to the Minister's influence. I cannot suppose that any of the personal friends of Mr. Fox, or of his politics, could have polled so unnaturally. I suppose these 1663 votes to have been given to Mr. Fox by the Minister. I stated to you in the beginning of this election, that I had the honour to be the Candidate most hated by the Minister, and for this there are many reasons. Amongst others you know that the degree of personal malice which one man entertains against another, is not in proportion to the injuries received, but to the injuries done. The Minister has not yet attempted to murder the Right Honourable Gentleman, but he has attempted to murder me.— This then, Gentlemen, is one reasonable ground for my supposition. Besides, this my statement, the Admiral, who is the Minister's representative here, confirmed: for he told you in so many words, that he should chuse to be returned your Representative in Parliament with the Right Hon. Gentleman, rather than with me. Supposing, therefore, that these double votes for Fox and Gardner are to be attributed to the Minister's influence, I deduct them from Mr. Fox's poll, and with that deduction his poll will amount to 2298. I had polled last night 2303. I therefore estimate, that I had then polled 5 votes more than Mr. Fox. But I ought not to say that I have polled, but that the public have

polled.—Now I reason thus; if the Electors of Westminster, notwithstanding the long friendship they have had for Mr. Fox, and their long acquaintance, have polled thus upon this occasion, they have done it from a just persuasion that their own lives are at stake in the present struggle; for if the Minister can murder small men in the manner he has attempted, he will soon be able to murder the great. This poll, therefore, springs from no dissatisfaction with Mr. Fox, but from your compassion for me, and your indignation at the attempt against me.

Let us now examine the Minister's votes; I say the Minister's, for Sir Alan is entirely out of the question. He will not be displeased with me in saying so. You may depend upon it, his vanity is not at all increased by this poll—he knows it is the Minister's, not his, and he wishes the Minister to have the full honour of it.

The Minister has polled 3884, his numbers are, Fox and Gardner 1663, Gardner and Tooke 15, single votes for Gardner 2206. [*Great shoutings by the Minister's friends.*] There is no mighty occasion for exultation at the numbers, for he might have had the 1663 as single votes into the bargain.

The fifteen votes for Tooke and Gardner, [Numbers cried out, *Give them to him, Give them to him.*] No, I cannot spare to the Admiral these fifteen votes, as many of you would have me. It is so extremely unnatural a poll that I think it is easily accounted for. Certainly they did not vote for the Admiral by my influence; and as certainly they did not vote for me by the Admiral's influence. Why, then, it evidently must have been thus; these are men whose principles and heart inclined them to the public cause, but they must have been under some commanding influence which they could not refuse, and must have said, when applied to, as has often been the case, since you will have it so, I will give one vote according to your desire, and the other according to my own inclination. I deduct, therefore, these fifteen from the Admiral's poll, and then his numbers will stand 3869. From my own poll of 2303, I believe you will agree with me that I need not deduct any. I have no personal connections, I have no personal influence, I have no money.

What Mr. Fox has told you concerning the declaration of the public opinion, by the numbers on the poll, is of some importance; and yet I hope not of so great importance as some may imagine. If it is of importance that he should be at the head of the poll, you must well bestir yourselves, for the Minister is at present at least 1500 before him—but do not be discouraged; and, if it is possible, put Mr. Fox at the head of the poll, in spite of the Minister's 1500. Though I confess I think that the public, in fair reasoning, have already declared themselves abundantly. For
when

when you consider that, in the Minister's poll, the Judges have voted—the Masters in Chancery have voted—the King's Messengers, his footmen, his scullions, and all that are dependent upon the Admiralty, and all the other Boards—Officers in the Customs and Excise, and others who have no right to vote; you will see, when all these come to be deducted, what a thin, meagre, wretched skeleton the Minister's poll will make.

It is impossible to form a precise judgment of this poll until it is finally closed. This I can certainly say, that I have not, for my own part, yet polled one third of those who have declared themselves in my favour. At the close of the poll I certainly mean to dissect the whole of it, and if it shall appear likely to be useful to the public, I will give it to you, not by word of mouth indeed, for I must not, until another election, talk to more than 50 people together without the interference of a Justice of Peace, but for your information I will print it.

I fear I have detained you too long. I shall add but one word more. Whilst I was addressing you yesterday, the Admiral made (what I wish he would more often make) an observation upon what I was saying to you. I was giving you an account, merely as a sample of the rest of the grasping greediness and public plunder of Lord Grenville, the Admiral said, he did not see what this had to do with the electors. I know it is a sore place, and and for that reason I touched it. Now I think it had much to do with the Election and with the public, and ought to influence materially the conduct of the Electors. It is of the utmost consequence to them, and if I had time, here upon the Hustings, I would inform them through what pockets all their enormous taxes flow.

The Admiral surely knows of what consequence it often is to find out a leak at sea. I have found out the PUBLIC LEAK, not where it *runs in*, but where it *runs out*, and the consideration and importance of it ought to direct your votes; for if you return the Admiral to Parliament, he has not undertaken, and he will not undertake, to pursue any measures to stop this ruinous leak; but if you return me to Parliament, I certainly will either stop that leak, or die in attempting it."

FOURTEENTH DAY.—SATURDAY, JUNE II.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	- - - - -	4625
Sir ALAN GARDNER	- - - - -	4486
Mr. TOOKE	- - - - -	2560

Mr. Fox. "Gentlemen, I have very great satisfaction in informing you, that the majority of votes in my favour, on this day's poll,

poll, is such as to place me further above the Admiral than at any preceding stage of the Election: a circumstance for which I feel the highest gratitude. I beg you, however, to continue your exertions in my behalf on Monday, that at the close of the Poll the sense of the People of Westminster may be still more distinctly made known with respect to the measures of Government.—Gentlemen, it has been observed, that my remarks on the state of the poll have been confined to a comparison with that Candidate, whose numbers come nearest to my own. They have been so for this reason—because standing, according to my original declaration, totally unconnected with any other Candidate, it appeared to be most important to direct your attention to this competition only: and, indeed, another reason for my conduct in this particular is, that the superiority of my poll over the Ministerial Candidate, is that which appears of most consequence to the public cause. At the same time, though it is not my intention to enter into any particular dissection of the poll, I cannot entirely acquiesce with the statement made by one of the Candidates on the preceding day. Part of the facts may be as Mr. Tooke then stated them; but surely, the more fair way of stating the public sentiments of Westminster, is to take all that have voted for Mr. Tooke, and add to them the votes that have been separately polled for me, or all that have polled for me, and add to them the separate votes for Mr. Tooke, and so many persons will most certainly be admitted to have expressed their decided reprobation of the present War, and the recent Bills infringing on their constitutional liberties. And if from the poll of the Ministerial Candidate, were to be deducted all those placemen, pensioners, and dependants, who, in any just sense of election, had no right to vote at all, it would be evident that there is a majority, not of a few hundreds only, but of some thousands of independent Electors, averse to the destructive measures of Government.

It has been said of the 1663 double votes, that appear upon the books for myself and Admiral Gardner, that they were given to me by the Minister. If this indeed be so, it certainly cannot be said that the line of conduct I have pursued, either during the Election or before it, has entitled me to such favour; and if it has been conferred, I must be accounted very ungrateful, for I assure you I do not thank the Minister for his favour. But it must be remembered, and perhaps lamented, that in this, as in all Elections, many persons are in the habit of giving their votes merely from circumstances of personal attachment, without any reference whatever to the enlarged views of political principle. Besides, may not the motives which Mr. Tooke assigned to the fifteen who had voted for him and Admiral Gardner, be applicable also, in some degree, to me; and if those fifteen are to be regarded as having
given

given their first votes from compulsion, and their second from conscience, may not some hundreds at least of those 1663 have been under the same circumstances; and having given one vote to the Ministerial Candidate from compulsion, have conscientiously given me their second. It is true, however, that Sir Alan Gardner has said that he would rather wish to be returned with me than with the other Candidate. What reason the Minister may have for this preference, it is impossible for me to say. Perhaps he was desirous of directing his attack where he thought he had the best prospect of success. But if we are to judge from the issue of his calculations, very little is to be concluded from his judgment in this particular. And now, Gentlemen, as Monday is the last day of Poll, and as I have learned from experience the little probability there is, of having an opportunity of addressing you after the Poll has closed, I shall take the present opportunity of delivering my sentiments more at large upon subjects of some considerable importance, than I have hitherto done during the Election, Gentlemen, the late proceedings of Government are fresh in the remembrance of all: and I will venture to say, that an administration more corrupt and more destructive of the happiness and prosperity of the world, of the peace of Europe, and the liberties of mankind, has never existed in this country since England was a nation. With religion and humanity perpetually in their mouths, they have destroyed more of God's creatures, and shed more Christian blood, than any Tyrant of Government in Europe. They have wasted more treasure, and spilt more blood, than any of the most famous Conquerors of antiquity, and they have lost more territory than any of those Conquerors ever gained. At home, indeed, with the solitary exception of one of their own Spies, they have not as yet been able to shed any blood by their persecutions; but it has not been for want of inclination; as is sufficiently evident from their repeated attempts. One of the Candidates has already told you that they have made a most illegal attempt upon his life; they certainly did so; and upon the lives of several other innocent persons besides. But I appeal even to these persecuted Gentlemen whether they themselves could have expressed a more decided reprobation of the illegality and scandalous injustice of those prosecutions than I have always done. In defiance of all law, and all principles of humanity, which ought to influence the conduct of those who have the administration of justice; they have also sent innocent men to Botany Bay, like felons, after a Trial, the conduct of which excites indignation in the breast of every man to whom the cause of Justice, and the Liberty of Mankind is dear.—Since that time they have also passed two bills, creating new crimes, and repealing the Bill of Rights in its most essential clauses. By one of those Bills, Popular

Assemblies

Assemblies of more than fifty persons, under certain circumstances, have been prohibited.—[*Here a great clamour was made by Sir THOMAS TURTON and some others saying upon the Hustings, No! No!*"] and one of them, reciting out some Latin verses.] By this Act, Gentlemen, you are not, however, absolutely forbidden to assemble; you are only subjected to dispersion by the Magistrate at his discretion, if he considers the proceedings as improper.—I advise you, however, to meet.—[*Great bursts of applause and a general shout "We will! we will!"*].—Meet, Gentlemen, I conjure you, whenever a just sense of your grievances calls upon you so to do! Depart yourselves with discretion when you have met, and let it be seen whether they dare to *abuse* the power vested in them by this new law, the act is made not against peaceable, but against seditious assemblies. Meet, therefore, and seek a redress of your grievances, but obey the laws; obey even the laws of which we have so much reason to complain. Obeying these, maintain, however, your rights, and be not intimidated by a vague and discretionary power, for the exercise of which the Magistrates must be responsible.—Gentlemen, Ministers are very fond of charging us for using inflammatory language; but if they reduce the country to such a situation that to speak the truth is to enflame, the fault is with them, not with us. I do not wish to enflame the Public Mind; but I wish the Public to be informed; and it is the business of our accusers to take care that a knowledge of the truth should not be dangerous to them.

To sum up my opinion, Gentlemen, of the present Government, in two words—they have shed more blood in Foreign Wars than Louis the XIVth. and attempted the lives of more innocent men at home than Henry the VIIIth.

Admiral GARDENER.—Gentlemen, I return you thanks for your exertions in my favour. Whether I am placed first or second on the Poll, I am perfectly satisfied of the obligations I owe to you for putting me there.

Mr. TOOKE said,—“Gentlemen, It appears to me, almost unnecessary to utter one word, after what Mr. Fox has said.

I am willing to concur in the statement of the Poll which he has given; nor am I disposed to contest any thing with a man who has spoken as he has now done.

This poll is now drawing towards a close and this will probably be the last opportunity I shall have of addressing you. Monday will be a busy day. I will not tire you with thanks for the great favour and indulgence which I have experienced from you. I beg only to assure you, that no man alive feels the insults of enemies less, or the kindness of friends more.—If God shall be pleased to protect my life from disease, and from the putrid dungeons

dungeons of tyrannical and sanguinary Ministers whatever may be the final event of this Poll, I will certainly meet you here again upon the first vacancy.

Gentlemen, Ministers have dared to commence the reign of terror in this land. I draw therefore the consequence from what Mr. Fox has said to you. Two objects alone shall engage the remainder of my life: to obtain for the people, what they have a RIGHT TO DEMAND and MUST SOON have, *Security for the future, and Justice for the past.*

FIFTEENTH DAY.—MONDAY, JUNE 13.

At the final close of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	- - - - -	5160
Sir ALAN GARDNER	- - - - -	4810
Mr. TOOKE	- - - - -	2819

The Deputy High Bailiff then proclaimed the return, whereby he stated that Mr. Fox and Sir Alan Gardner were duly elected.

The burst of applause from the multitude on hearing Mr. Fox declared so decidedly at the head of the poll, filled the air, and communicated the tidings to every part of Westminster. The Committee of Sir Alan Gardner had published a hand-bill, which stated, that “wishing to avoid any step that might tend to irritate the minds of the people, and endanger the tranquillity of the City of Westminster—they requested their friends not to chair the Admiral.” Mr. Tooke was not present. As soon as the numbers were declared, Mr. Fox returned thanks in a few words for the kind partiality of the Electors; their impatience for his triumph made it impossible to say much; he was hurried into the Car, and preceded by a band of music, and a number of flags, with appropriate inscriptions, the first of which was—“Fox and Peace!” He was carried by his friends in civic triumph round the Garden, along the Strand, and Pall Mall, up to Devonshire House, where he was received by the lovely Duchesses, &c. with the warm welcome of heart-felt joy. Here Mr. Fox again returned to the numerous body of the people by whom he had been accompanied, and requested them to separate quietly, that their enemies might not take advantage of the ardour of their exultation, and disturb the tranquillity of the city, that it might be attributed to them. From Devonshire House Mr. Fox came to the Shakespeare in his carriage. In their progress through the streets, the multitude paid the most loud and grateful tribute of respect at Northumberland House, Norfolk House, and other places where the exalted owners had distinguished themselves as enemies to the present mad career of war and taxes, and had used their

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principally

princely fortunes, at a moment of scarcity, in assuaging the sufferings of the poor.

Mr. Fox was received at the Shakespeare with rapture, where he dined with his friends. Every room was crowded. His health being drank after dinner, he addressed the company in a speech which took a view of the whole of his political life, and the motives of his actions in the course of it, which pleased the company so highly that his health was drank with three times three, and all the fervor which the Electors of Westminster have felt, and at every moment of exigency manifested, for the person they most esteem, was displayed in every face.

Many constitutional toasts were drank, and the worthy Candidates who are now struggling against the corruption of the Treasury, particularly the virtuous and tried Mr. Honeywood in Kent, were remembered with affection.

The Duke of Norfolk, after his health was drank, returned his most hearty thanks to the meeting for the honour they had done him, and mentioned the public spirit of the County of Hereford in chusing Mr. Biddulph, in consequence of the apostacy from the Whig interest, which had been manifested.

Mr. Biddulph, in a handsome speech, thanked the meeting for their kindness in drinking his health, and declared his determination to persevere in the cause of liberty, and in opposition to the present ruinous war.

Captain Morris contributed to the conviviality of the occasion, by singing a song by way of triumph, appropriate to the occasion, and several other new songs.

A great many appropriate Toasts were given; and the meeting broke up in the greatest good humour.

On Tuesday, June 14, the following Advertisements appeared.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY
AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

THE generous and disinterested exertions by which you have so honourably placed me at the head of the Poll, call for my warmest acknowledgments.

The constancy with which you have persevered, and, in various circumstances, repeatedly exhibited your partial attachment to me, fills me with pride and gratitude.

But the unanswerable proofs that in the course of this Election have appeared of your sentiments upon those points, which have of late been the subjects of political dispute, afford me a satisfaction of a still higher nature.

I see,

I see, with pleasure and triumph, that those harsh laws and odious prosecutions which, together with other measures of a similar tendency, were framed, and carried on for the purpose of subduing the spirit of the People, have, in this City at least, failed of their effect.

While this spirit remains unbroken, every thing is to be hoped. The most ingenious tyranny has never been able to devise means of preventing a spirited People from declaring their sentiments.

The sense of such a People, when legally and resolutely pronounced, must be obeyed. And if our countrymen, in the more distant parts of the kingdom, think, speak, and act, like the Citizens of Westminster, I will venture to predict that it will not be long before it is in the power of the true Friends to the Constitution to restore peace to Europe, and liberty to Great Britain.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obliged,

And grateful humble Servant,

C. J. FOX.

South Street, June 13, 1796.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY
AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

PERMIT me, with heart-felt gratitude, to offer you my sincere acknowledgments for the very liberal support I have received during the Election, and, as far as words can express my feelings, to return you my unfeigned thanks for the very distinguished and honourable situation in which you have placed me.

This mark of your favour, Gentlemen, is the more gratifying to me, as a proof of your partiality towards an honourable profession, to which I am proud of having devoted the whole of my life; and I doubt not it must give pleasure to all true friends of their Country, to observe your decisive approbation of those principles which I have repeatedly and unequivocally avowed, by declaring myself a firm and zealous supporter of our King and Constitution; and I am happy once more to take an opportunity of pledging myself to persevere in those principles to the latest hour of my life.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and faithful humble Servant,

A. GARDNER.

Portland Place, June 13, 1796.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

BY the time when I shall next meet you at another Election, your Taxes, Burdens, and Oppressions, will be still heavier; and your desire of relief more ardent: for the Ministers of this Country are pursuing a career in which they cannot stop. They must go on, or go off. Corruption, like a dropsy, will swell till it bursts. And the means of force and coercion which they have lately prepared for us—their Treason and Sedition Bills, their Volunteers, their Fencibles, and their Barracks—only tend to hasten the crisis. Be moderate and firm. If we can do no better for our Country, let our carcases at least manure the soil which has fed us. Our Ancestors in the last Century, who fled from Slavery, loved Liberty well; but those who stayed, and, by their sufferings and exertions, vindicated and established it, loved it better, and deserved better of posterity.

Again, Gentlemen, I request you to be moderate and firm; and we shall soon obtain, what ought to be the morning and evening determination of every Englishman, *Security for the future—and Justice for the past.*

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

Wimbledon, June 14, 1796.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

AT a Meeting of the Committee for promoting the Election of JOHN HORNE TOOKE Esq. in the Parish of St. James's, Westminster; George Knutton M. D. in the Chair.

The following Farewell ADDRESS was unanimously agreed to.

To those Worthy and Patriotic Electors who, in the late Contest so eminently asserted the Freedom of Election by Polling for JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Esq.

GENTLEMEN,

WE deem it our incumbent duty to take this public farewell, untill the *next vacancy* in the representation for Westminster. In doing this, we cannot forbear congratulating you upon the Independent spirit which has been so generally manifested in this CITY; and by our PARISH in particular.

It affords us great occasion of triumph, when we consider, that in such a period as the present, when Corruption and political Depravity are so generally prevalent, that the CITY OF WESTMINSTER, the seat of influence contains TWO THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED and NINETEEN Electors, virtuous enough to come forwards, and give their unbiassed Suffrages in favour of the LIBERTIES of their country. Every lover of British Freedom must rejoice at such an event, while those CRIMINALS who are so abandoned as to aim at its destruction, must tremble, when they reflect, that in WESTMINSTER alone, so many independent persons exist, who are determined to assert their privileges as *Englishmen*, and defend those privileges at the price of every thing that is dear to them; and whose principle is, *perish self-interest and private emolument, but live the Freedom of our Country*. From this circumstance, we hazard little in predicting, that the most happy consequences will speedily result to Britons and to British Liberty !!!

In the tone of exultation, many *superficial persons* have exclaimed, "What good have Mr. HORNE TOOKE and his Friends accomplished by their late contest?" To such *absurd Querists*, we (*for ourselves*) answer, that if our only object had been to acquire a seat for Mr. Horne Tooke in the Commons House of Parliament, we have done little good indeed! But is there nothing more valuable to be gained in the *present crisis* than a seat in Parliament for an *Individual*? Is there not an object infinitely more important in our view, and which every *real* Briton should pursue with the most unabating assiduity; Have not our RIGHTS and Immunities been violated, and is it not our duty as ENGLISHMEN to assert, maintain, and defend them? How in the present instance can this be attempted, but by
seizing

seizing every *legal* opportunity that presents to point out those *Channels from which our evils flow*, and to demonstrate the best means of eradicating our Grievances ; such were the pursuits in which Mr. Horne Tooke and his Friends were engaged in the late struggle, and the good that will result from such laudable exertions, is part of the benefit we have obtained by our endeavours. Another advantage which has been derived from this contest, is, that if it had not taken place, WESTMINSTER would have been reduced to the insignificance of a *venal Borough*; the Suffrages of its Electors would have been disposed of without *their consent*, and the business of its *representation* would have dwindled into a mere *political job*.

Surely, then it was not unworthy of those persons to Poll for the Man who afforded them the opportunity of giving their Suffrages, or to prove themselves the Advocates for his success, who had proved himself the *uniform* and determined Advocate for their LIBERTIES. Such is the answer we make to justify our Friends ; such is the idea which we leave for the serious reflection of those whom we hope to find our *Friends in future*.

Unsuccessful in what many have deemed the *primary object* of our pursuit, we congratulate you as well as ourselves, on having awakened in the PARISH OF St. JAMES's a spirit of emulation in the cause of Public Justice, which Corruption cannot still, nor Sophistry pervert.

Gentlemen, we thank you for what you *have* done ; you have effected more than we almost hoped, and *much* more than your, or our *enemies* ever expected. Renowned in former Elections for implicit obedience to a MINISTERIAL INTEREST, you have now made your first struggle for Emancipation and Independence ; and we trust your example will animate those on a future occasion who upon the present, voted against us, although *their Hearts were with us*. To your and our Opponents, we have only to say, we are influenced in the part we have taken by no *personal pique, animosity, or resentment* ; but have acted from Principle and the *dictates* of conscience.

The right of Election is free ; and were we asked the question, we answered in a Moment, we would rather see *Fifty Votes upon Principle against us*, than *Five upon our side* from Influence and Compulsion.

Collectively, Gentlemen, we wish you Independence, Prosperity and Peace ; and we are firmly persuaded upon a *future occasion*, that your exertions and unanimity will prove you worthy of their enjoyment.

Signed by Order of the Committee,

G. KNUTTON, CHAIRMAN,
J. MOODY, SECRETARY.

June 13, 1796.

The

The Friend of Mr. TOOKE having agreed to celebrate the event, of the first dawn of Public Spirit in Westminster; which had been so conspicuously manifest during the late contest; agreed on a PUBLIC DINNER, and on the 21st of June the following Advertisement appeared in the most of the public prints.

The Electors of Westminster, Friends to Mr. HORNE TOOKE, are requested to dine together at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Tuesday, the 28th Day of this present Month of June.

STEWARDS.

Sutton Sharp	Henry Francis Harrison	Michael Pearson
Felix Vaughan	William Tooke Harwood	George Puller
Arthur Blake	Robert Holmes	Walter Row
Samuel Bourne	George Knutton	William Scott
William Bosville	Charles Macklin	John Scotney
Samuel Brooks	William Maxwell	Joseph Sharp
Thomas Capel	John Middleton	George Smith
Henry Cline	John Milnes	William Surch
George Crosier	William Moffat	Isaac Swainson
Francis Dowling	John Moody	James White
William Friend	William Morgan	Abraham Wood.

Pursuant to this notice, a most respectable and numerous attendance of the Electors of Westminster assembled at the Crown and Anchor Tavern; where the most orderly arrangements were made for their accommodation.

WILLIAM BOSVILLE, ESQ. was unanimously called to the chair, and

GEORGE KNUTTON, M. D.

WILLIAM FRIEND, A. M.

SUTTON SHARP, ESQ.

And Mr. GEORGE CROSIER,

Were chosen Vice Presidents.

The manner in which these Gentlemen conducted themselves, gave the greatest satisfaction to every person present; and sufficiently demonstrated the prudent choice which had been made of them, to fill their respective situations. The dinner and wines were plentiful and excellent; and the warmest conviviality seemed to reign throughout the whole company.

After dinner the Chairman gave

1. "The independant Electors of Westminster," with three times three, which was drank with the most enthusiastic applause.

The Chairman then said, "Fellow countrymen we have been told from the Hustings, that we are tied to a tree:—the tree of corruption. I give you as a toast,

2. "Pull—and pull—and pull again," (with three times three.)

3. "Se-

3. "Security for the future, and justice for the past," (with three times three.)

4. "The birth day of our liberties."

Rev. Mr. JOYCE said, it was the wish of the company near him to drink the health of the person in whose cause they were assembled, and therefore he should, without any apology, give

5. "John Horne Tooke."

Mr. TOOKE's health being drank with three times three, and great applause—that Gentleman addressed the company as follows:

Gentlemen—It is impossible for me to thank you sufficiently for the honour you have done me. It was very much unexpected by me, because I understood that the Stewards would carefully avoid the mention of any man's name in this company. We met for *principles*, without the most distant personal idea of any man, or any party; but certainly without injury to the principles which we all hold. I accept, however, your kindness, and thank you for the health you have given to the principle.

It is totally unnecessary for me to say one word on the approbation of that principle to a company like this, but perhaps it may not be unnecessary to say a word or two for our own comfort. Gentlemen, the reign of corruption, you may be assured, is coming towards its close. I ought to tell you on what I found that opinion. I will do it as shortly as I can. A very little reference to our history, (for it cannot be a long way back) will shew you, that terror pervaded this land by governors, as they always do, by absolute power through fear—from practice they use their power as their right hand, their reason only as their left.

A little more than 100 years ago, the King of this country and his minions, tired of the attempt of governing by terror only, endeavoured to secure themselves by murdering whom they pleased; but themselves were murdered for the murders they had committed. A different practice and a different scheme succeeded, and those who desired to be absolute in this country, not daring to begin with fear, followed up their desires with the course and the plan of corruption. That corruption is drained almost to the dregs, and you have but little now to fear. In the course of the American war, Lord North pursued the plan of corruption, and he did it so long, that Mr. Pitt found but little remaining to corrupt with, because all he could lay of, was barely enough for himself and his family. You therefore need not wonder that Mr. Pitt, thus situated, should have recourse to corruption of another sort; and therefore you find that he introduced a title which is rather new to us—the title of *Marquis*. At a former time we had none of that title, but at the present time we have them in abundance. Unless I am mistaken, it was first attempted in the reign of Richard II. and the people of this country were so offended at the novelty of the title, that the man on whom it was conferred

ferred was compelled to make an apology to the then House of Commons, and get rid of the title.

I am only putting together titles, which you know, as well as I do, were afterwards settled, and that it was agreed that the relations of Sovereigns shall not be among the number. Then followed another order—the order of St. Patrick—and then the order of Baronet, a diminutive of Baron. Upon the establishment of this order, a number of persons said, they were Gentlemen, and they would not become Baronets, and so the force of that corruption failed in much of its intended effect. This sort of artifice Ministers feel they cannot long profit by, and therefore they attempt our lives.—They think that we are afraid to die; they mistake, but that proves to me that they themselves are under the influence of terror.

Gentlemen, I am happy that the ingenuity of the Minister was not exhausted here; for he, to carry on his plan, has invented a tax on houses.—I am glad he has. By this tax you will know how many houses there are in the country, and if Mr. Pitt will give us a register of the house-keepers who support him, we shall be able to tell to a unit how many fools there are in this country.

The Chairman said, “Fellow Countrymen, you have heard much of a substitute for bread, I will give you a substitute for bribes and unmerited pensions.

6. “Halters—A proper substitute for bribes and unmerited pensions.”

7. “A speedy removal of the stinking rubbish of the present Administration.”

The Chairman said, he had been desired to give a toast—

8. “The right hand of the People.”

9. “An effectual stop to the National Leak.”

In the course of the evening Mr. Tooke said, that the Chairman (who, from his exertions, was a little hoarse) had desired him to give the company the following toast; it was the sentiment of Mr. Fox; he should give it in the words of that Gentleman:—

10. “Destruction to that Administration who have destroyed more lives in foreign conquests than Louis the XIVth, and attempted more lives at home than Harry the VIIIth.”

This being drank with three times three and with rapture,

A person of the name of John DARK, after declaring himself a member of the *London Corresponding Society*, said he should be glad to know whether it was consistent with the duty of a *Member of Parliament* to explain his opinion upon the *subject of reform*. He understood Mr. Fox did not like *universal suffrage and annual Parliaments*; if this was true, and Mr. Fox continued an enemy to these *measures*, he would be left in a *Minority*. And if Mr. Tooke was an enemy to *such a Reform*, he would be left in a *Minority*.

minority also. He wished *Citizen Horne Tooke* to inform the people how to *regain their rights*, and expel those profligate Ministers.

Mr TOOKE said, nothing in the world ever gives me more pleasure than to be called upon as the Gentleman has done. It is the manner in which Gentlemen should call upon all those persons who are their Representatives, or who offer to become their Representatives, and scrutinize every sentiment they hold which relates to Public Liberty. I am called upon for two things, one which I can answer, and one which I cannot. As far as relates to myself, I am able to do it, I am willing to do it, and I am glad to do it; but when I am called upon to explain the sentiments of a Gentleman who is absent, I must beg to be excused. I think the best, and hope the best of Mr. Fox, although there are some things still left unexplained by him. However it is possible the moment may arrive when you and I, and all of us, may compel him to explain himself, even if he were not inclined to do so.

The Gentleman has supposed, that if I were in Parliament, I too should have continued in a minority. I believe not, for both the majority and minority would have been unanimous to hang me. For the means which the people ought to pursue to obtain a Reform in Parliament, I say, they ought to pursue any effectual means that shall be in their power. Individuals cannot do much; but though the means they pursue should produce the most sanguinary measures on the part of the Minister, they ought not to desist, for liberty may arise out of their blood.

A Gentleman desired to give as a toast,

11. "The convicted Patriots of New South Wales, and the tried Patriots all over the world."

12. "The privates in the ranks."

Mr. BOSVILLE quitted the chair about half past eight, amidst the applauses of the company, many of whom continued for some time longer in a convivial and peaceful circle.

All the toasts given by the Chairman were collected from the excellent speeches of Mr. Tooke, delivered from the Hustings,

Some excellent patriotic songs were sung by Mr. Rukin and other gentlemen. At ten o'clock the company adjourned, highly gratified with the entertainment of the evening.



